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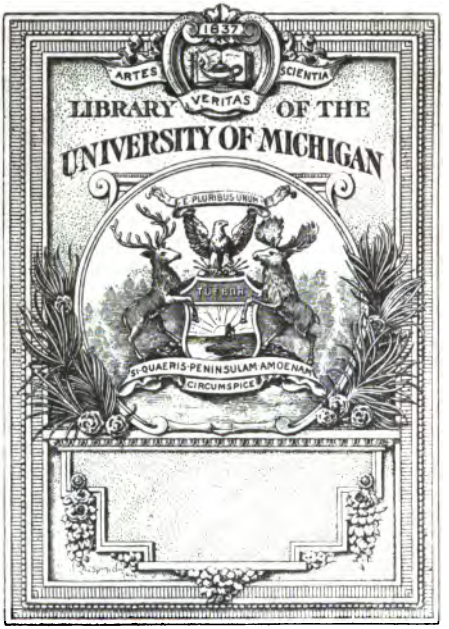
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CATHOLIC ITALY,

ITS INSTITUTIONS AND SANCTUARIES

PART I.

ROME AND THE PAPAL STATES

BY CHARLES HEMANS.

FLORENCE
TIPOGRAFIA BARACCHI
1860

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TO THE READER

The present volume, far from being a full accomplishment of the plan or idea expressed in its title, is simply a first attempt on the subject of Italy considered under peculiar aspects to which my attention has mainly directed itself. Not yet an exhausted, however often and ably treated a theme, Italy, inregard to religious institutions and usages, might be yet more perfectly illustrated than hitherto; and Catholicism, whatever the changes in religious tendency that modern times have witnessed, remains not only interwoven with the history of her Past, but also with the manners of her Present. A fully carried out inquiry into the subject, with dispassionate appreciation and kindliness of spirit, might supply valuable addition to the many works which the study of this interesting country, antiquarian, literary, and artistic, has brought forth. In the desire, with however insufficient abilities or chances of success, to accomplish a task so aimed, I entertain hope of continuing what is in fact but commenced in these pages, if permitted by circumstances on which my undertaking must be dependant.

I. C. H.

271802

ROME AND THE STATES OF THE CHURCH

THE PAPAL METROPOLIS

> La préséance de Rome sur les autres villes de la Péninsule est consacrée par le temps, par la gloire, par l'admiration et la piété de tous les peuples. La préséance du Pape résulte de sa titre de Pontife et représente la souveraineté éternelle de Dieu, et ce caractère auguste permet aux plus grands rois de s'incliner devant lui. Ce n'est pas un maître, c'est un père!
>
> NAPOLÈON III et L'ITALIE.

Independently of the associations of classic history, republican or imperial, apart from the glories reflected by the arts of Christianity and antiquities of Paganism, Rome possesses characteristics that must interest every intelligent mind, as the seat of the most ancient Sovereignty in Europe; of a government uniquely constituted; of a religious system, first in ascendancy over the civilized world, that never has had, nor can have a parallel. At this period, while her political future is the subject of so much speculation, while many misapprehensions prevail as to the nature of authority and general conditions of society in the Papal Metropolis, whatever infor-

mation can be obtained free from partiality may be acceptable in assisting to appreciate a subject connected with so many interests of Christendom (1). It must be remembered that the temporal sovereignty of the Popes is a mere accident and adjunct to their spiritual supremacy, in no manner bound up with the system of their government over the Church, or any principle of doctrine proposed to the acceptance of the faithful, her subjects (2). Under three headings might be divided the opinions now prevalent respecting this *vexata quaestio:* that which altogether rejects and condemns the temporal power as abusive and tending to prejudice the spiritual; that which allows it to be, so to say, a fortunate accident providentially ordered, but not equally necessary or desirable at all epochs or in all states of society; and that which proclaims it absolutely requisite for the dignity and independence of ecclesiastical action and authority. Much has been, and may be, urged in support of each of these theories; but it is scarcely possi-

(1) Intelligence is now arriving, from day to day, of the defection of considerable cities and provinces from the Papal rule, all prompt to throw off an allegiance no longer paid with respect or answering to sympathies, and acknowledge the sovereign of another Italian state, in the ardour for liberal institutions, for a cause of nationality, a war against foreign intruders. The knell seems sounding for the last time in the ear of priestly government; and I write at a moment when the continued existence of temporal power attached to the throne of St. Peter depends absolutely on foreign support, when the alienation in mind and principle of an immense proportion among its hitherto subjects has become an historic fact, to warn the upholders of unpopular and feeble administration, to open the eyes of the deceiving and the deceived.

June 20th. 1859.

(2) Theologans maintain that the temporal sovereignty derives, not from divine right, but from the donation of Princes and prescription founded on prolonged possession: thus Bellarmino: *Directe nullius loci esse dominium temporale jure divino.* (« De Summo Pont. » lib. V, cap. 4).

ble for the candid or well-informed to acquiesce in the pretensions of those who declare the identity of the temporal with the spiritual interests, as alike essential to the character of the Vicar of CHRIST, and denounce as anti-catholic, or revolutionary, all opinions or sympathies tending to opposite conclusions. Of such it may be asked, whether the divinely sanctioned authority was wanting to the Apostolic Martyrs who governed the See of Rome during about two centuries after the time of St. Peter? and was that high character in any way forfeited during the years of imprisonment and exile at Fontainebleau, Savona, and Gaeta? The utility, nay, necessity of the temporal power in the Middle Ages can scarcely be questioned: it was then, amid social tempests and storms of lawless passion, as the magic shield behind which the Pontiffs prepared their charmed agency for directing the destinies and influencing the moral life of Europe. Yet had it never been annexed to their more sacred office, would their Tiara — one may fairly ask — have been craved for the ends of worldly ambition, would the unworthy have so often intrigued and struggled to ascend the chair of St. Peter? — that chair which, in the X century, was dishonoured by profligate usurpers, from which, in the XV century, were unseated by the Council of Constance three rival claimants at one blow, and to which it was certainly for the misfortune of the Church that, in more modern times, such candidates should have been elected as the Borgia, Della Rovere, and Medici. If purity of *origin*, if the attainment of territory through voluntary donation, or reverential concession, be claims on behalf of earth's powers or garantees for their duration, then assuredly must the Papal be allowed to possess the best of titles among existing monarchies, as its throne rests on foundations the most respectable, legitimate and undefiled. Like other institutions that have sprung from deeply rooted principles, or social requirements, the Sovereignty of the Popes was of gradual, almost

imperceptible growth, neither the result of individual efforts, nor obtained by any thing like a conspiracy of ambition or a calculation of forces aimed stedfastly at success in the game of subjecting mankind. The Holy See alone of European sovereignties, possesses at this day almost the same extent of territory it owned ten centuries ago. Pepin and Charlemagne, the Emperors Lothaire, Louis, Henry and Otho, the Countess Matilda, the Dukes of Urbino and Ferrara, confirmed or extended the Papal sovereignty over the states at this day subjected to the Tiara, and for the acquisition of which no rights have been trampled on, none have been victims to violence or usurpation. Even that donation of Pepin, popularly regarded as the origin of this sovereignty, is proved to have been preceded by temporal rights, sufficiently indicated, though not defined, in its history. It was, in fact, *restitution* that Pepin declared his determination to make for the benefit of the Roman Church; and when he sent ambassadors to Astolphus, before invading Lombardy, it was to require him to *restore* the possessions of the Church and the Roman republic: *Ut pacifici sine ulla sanguinis effusione, propria S. Dei Ecclesiae et reipublicae Romana reddant jura.* — (Orsi « Dell' origine del Dominio dei Rom. Pont. ») The *restitution* of the Exarchate to Rome is referred to in the charter of Louis the Debonnaire, as the laudable act of Pepin and Charlemagne: « Exarchatum quem — Pepinus rex — et genitor noster Carolus imperator, B. Petro et predecessoribus vestris jam dudum per donationis paginam restituerunt. » — (Orsi, ibid. — De Maistre, « Du Pape. ») Pope Adrian I. in writing to Charlemagne, speaks of « this our Roman City » — « our Romans » — « our territories. » Again he speaks of « your States » — « your subjects » — « our States — our subjects. » — (Miley « History of the Papal States. ») Thus, for more than 200 years before the imperial crown was placed on the head of Charlemagne by Leo III, had the successors of St. Peter exer-

cised a virtual, though undefined sovereignty over Rome and its environs; and 130 years before the provinces since known as the Patrimony of St. Peter, had been voluntarily subjected by the Roman people to Gregory II, was a species of supreme magistracy exercised by his saintly predecessor, Gregory the Great, who found — to use the words of Gibbon — « in the attachment of a grateful people the purest reward of a citizen and the best right of a sovereign. » That description of paternal sway wielded by the Popes prior to the VIII century, was indeed necessitated by the exigencies of the times, for protecting citizens whose interests were habitually disregarded by unworthy Emperors, whose lives and property were constantly exposed to dangers by barbarian invasion. Nor was the Papal authority in those early ages without substantial basis, or means for self-support. Under Gregory the Great (590-604) the Holy See possessed estates, called patrimonies, amounting to twenty-three, in different parts of Italy, the Mediterranean Isles, Illyria, Gaul, Germany, and Dalmatia, besides rights of jurisdiction in criminal causes, exercised by its ministers, in Sicily, Calabria, Apulia, Campania, Sardinia, Corsica, Liguria, and the district of the Cottian Alps. To the second Gregory may be ascribed the positive historic origin of the temporal power recognised in subsequent ages, though a distinction has been drawn, followed by the writers of the « Art de vérifier les dates, » who observe that when, in 726, the last Duke of Rome, Basil, was chased away by the people, indignant against the cruelty of the Iconoclast Emperor Leo, it was an administrative superintendence, not to be confounded with absolute monarchy, that was ceded to the Pontiff. His successor Gregory III, in 731, still observed the formality of writing to the Exarch to obtain the ratifying of his election; but never, after this last occasion, was such deference paid to the Greek Emperor's representative. Coins of Popes, as temporal Princes, were struck

in the VIII century, and are still preserved in the numismatic collection at the Vatican; but it was even earlier that the use of dating briefs by the year of the Pontificate was introduced, by Deodatus, created Pope in 672. Momentous consequences resulted from the struggle originating in the iconoclast movement at Constantinople, and the dauntless opposition of Gregory II to the persecuting Emperor Leo, for it was after his condemnation in a council held by that Pope, A. D. 730, that the Roman people voluntarily submitted, are said by some writers to have bound themselves by oath, to become subjects of the Holy See. The territory over which was thus acquired administrative, if not absolute dominion, in the VIII century, comprised, besides the Roman Campagna, 17 cities in other parts of Italy, among which were several still of provincial importance in these States — Perugia, Civitavecchia, Narni, Anagni, Alatri, Ferentino, and Tivoli. We read that, before this submission, Gregory II recovered, by the assistance of the Duke of Naples, the city of Cuma, which had been previously held as a patrimony of the Holy See. His predecessor, Sisinnius, in 708, was preparing to restore the fortifications and churches of Rome — certainly an act which seems to imply the authority and means proper to a Sovereign — but was cut off by death, so that the restoration which placed the city in a state of defensibility, remained to be numbered among the public works of Gregory II. After the alienation of the Roman Duchy from the Greek Empire, the Pontiff never forbid the payment of the customary tribute to Leo III (then reigning Emperor); but the people themselves, after electing other magistrates in place of the imperial, whom they had driven from Rome, agreed to withhold for the future all such tokens of subjection. In 753 Stephen III crossed the Alps — the first Pope to perform such journey — in order to demand succour from Pepin against the incursions of the Lombards, who had frequently invaded his territory and

brought fire and slaughter to the very gates of Rome. Pepin twice descended upon Italy as champion of the Church, and constrained Astolphus to abandon the Exarchate, which, together with the province of Emilia and 22 cities in other parts, he handed over to the absolute dominion of the Pontiff — thus effecting the so celebrated donation. It has, however, been fully proved that the Duchy of Rome was not comprised in this gift (or restitution) but held by the Roman See according to rights established long antecedently. In 781 Charlemagne for the second time crossed the Alps, when his two sons were crowned by Adrian I, as Kings of Italy and Aquitania. Then it was that this magnanimous benefactor of the Church solemnly confirmed to the Papacy all its previously acquired dominions, and augmented them by the territory of Sabina, the Islands of Corsica and Sardinia; and either on this, or his next expedition beyond the Alps, in 787, added to that donation several towns he had wrested from the Duke of Benevento; also the Duchy of Spoleto (according to some writers) and six cities, of which Viterbo was one, previously comprised in the Tuscan territory. Adrian confirmed to him, on his request, the title of Roman Patrician; and Charlemagne, on the same occasion, received from the Pope the significantly symbolic gift of a pair of golden Keys containing filings from the chains of St. Peter, with the standard of that Apostle and of Rome — implying the obligation, in the recipient, to defend the Roman Church in its civil as well as ecclesiastical rights. Early in the next century, Lothaire added Sicily to the possessions of the Holy See; whilst he confirmed that of Sardinia, on his coronation at Rome by Paschal I. The greatest aggrandissement of the Papal dominions was effected in the XI century, and again by act entirely external to the Holy See itself, consistently with its peculiar nature as a sovereignty resting for support on a moral principle, owing its rights to conviction, attachment, and devotion. Second only in generosity to Char-

lemagne was its great benefactress, the Countess Matilda, a woman of masculine intellect and abilities, whose devotedness to the Holy See had the character of a sentiment elevated into a principle, and embraced with the ardour of an indomitable will. This extraordinary heroine, the daughter of Boniface III, Marquis of Tuscany, after the deaths of her father and step-father, succeeded to absolute sway over the most important states in Italy, comprising Tuscany, Lucca, Modena, Reggio, Mantua, Ferrara, Parma, and Piacenza; over all which, in the year 1076, Matilda, at the age of thirty, found herself independent mistress. After the death of her first husband, son of the Duke of Lorraine, who was assassinated at Antwerp by the Count of Flanders, she dedicated herself with all the energies of her nature to the cause of the Holy See, under five successive Popes, opposing the Emperors Henry IV and Henry V, whilst the long warfare, originating in the question of investitures, was raging in Germany and Italy. Gregory VII was especially the object of her reverential attachment, directed to him as to a being of superior order, the personification of a principle and a tradition. After that Pontiff had advanced to meet the Emperor as far as Vercelli, but retired on the report of his approach with a hostile army, she received him with enthusiastic homage at her impregnable fortress of Canossa, in the province of Reggio. Thither followed the penitent Emperor, and there that extraordinary scene took place of the humiliation and absolution of Henry IV, so celebrated and variously commented upon by historic writers. Only fifteen days afterwards, Henry broke all his solemn engagements, sworn upon the Holy Sacrament, to Gregory, and leagued against him with the Lombards. The Princes of Germany, renouncing allegiance, declared him deposed, after which, to avenge himself on the crowned Priest he considered responsible for all his misfortunes, he endeavoured to sieze the person of the Pope, with that of Matilda also. For three months

Gregory only found safety in one of the mountain castles belonging to her; and then it was that Matilda made the memorable act of donation to the Holy See of all her estates, reserving for herself only the usufruct during life. The Countess now collected a large army to oppose the Emperor, and the Antipope he had raised up. Great reverses were suffered on her side; her forces were defeated at Ravenna, in 1080; but, four years later, their arms were completely victorious. Matilda's marriage with Guelph II, Duke of Bavaria, related to the Este house, led to a league against the Emperor of the most powerful families in Italy, to dissolve which he waged war in Bavaria, and simultaneously in all the states of Matilda. But this intrepid woman, though greatly a sufferer, and now deprived of all her fortresses north of the Po, persisted, against the advice of her barons and many theologians, in carrying on war, till finally restored to possession of all she had lost. In 1012 she renewed, at Canossa, the formal act of donation, addressed to Pope Paschal II; but the original document of which is unfortunately lost. Matilda died at Mantua in 1115, and in that city her remains reposed till transferred, in 1635, to a magnificent Mausoleum at St. Peter's, by order of Urban VIII.

There have been instances of worldly ambition, unprincipled intrigue, and even darker crimes, that have discredited the Tiara; the X century witnessed the dishonor of abject and profligate, the XV and XVI centuries were scandalised by the mundane spirit or grasping avarice of scarcely less unworthy Pontiffs; but, at a general view, one is impressed by justice and morality of aims in the Papal policy, and led to acknowledge one striking and admirable feature in the absence of all determined purpose and operation directed to the overthrow of other authorities for its own aggrandisement. The early pontiffs waited passively, till the force of circumstances and opinion arrived at such a point as ultimately to sweep away

every trace of foreign dominion from their capital, to emancipate their territories from ancient and modern intruders, from Greek and German, and Italian tyrannies. In 896, Pope Formosus allows the Romans to swear allegiance to Arnulph, whom he had crowned King of Italy in Rome, only providing for his own rights by a clause « *Salvo* the fidelity due to Formosus. » In 1038 Benedict IX still uses — though for the last time — the date of the reigning Emperor in his bulls. In the XII century, Alexander III enters into treaty with Manuel, Emperor of the East, for a reunion of the whole empire under the ancient sceptre, stipulating one point — which assuredly would have prejudiced the independence of himself and his successors on the Papal throne — that the seat of Imperial sovereignty should be restored to Rome — an arrangement to which Manuel would never consent. In 1198 Innocent III, on his consecration, received oaths of fealty from the senator and civic officials, and himself bestowed investiture, with the mantle, on the Prefect of Rome, who paid him unreserved homage as absolute Prince. Then it was, in the opinion of Muratori, that the authority of the Emperors in this city became finally extinct. Even Hallam — whose bias is adverse — considers that it was only the *nominal* authority of the Greek Emperors « which was not abrogated in Rome till some years after Pepin » At various periods of the Middle Ages, indeed, little more than legality of claim seems left to the Holy See over extensive territories, whose revenues and administration were in the hands of powerful usurpers. On the election of Gregory VI, in 1044, the condition of Rome and its vicinity was so lawless and desperate that scarcely could means of subsistence be supplied to the Papal household; all ingresses to the city were infested by robbers and assassins; pillage and homicide raged within its walls, and violence laid hands on the offerings of the faithful at the shrine of St. Peter. At the acces-

sion of Innocent III, near the end of that century, all the provinces bequeathed by Matilda were held by the Emperor Henry, while his son was master of the County of Bertinoro, ceded after the reconciliation between Frederic and the Pope: an imperial Seneschal governed Ravenna, Romagna, and the Marches; other German barons divided under their sway the rest of the Exarchate; Conrad of Suabia, invested with the title of Duke, held Spoleto and Assisi; independent republics were constituted out of the Pentapolis; the Mediterranean shores and Sabina were governed in his own name and interest by Benedetto Carosomi; the Prefect of Rome received nomination from the Emperor; and it was only on the Campagna that the temporal authority of the Pope was recognised, while even there the Emperor's name was more dreaded, more potent than his. Before the close, however, of the memorable reign of Innocent, was performed a solemn act of reparation to the Holy See by the Emperor Otho, who, by decree published at Spires, recognised, with professions of reverence and spiritual obedience, the independent territories of the Roman Church in their extent from Radicofani to Ceprano (at the modern confines of these states with the Tuscan and Neapolitan) comprising the Exarchate and Pentapolis, the domains bequeathed by Matilda and Bertinoro, the Marches of Ancona and Duchy of Spoleto, with all other possessions ascribed to the Church in the letters of the Emperors and kings his predecessors — all which (were the words of Otho) « the Roman Church is entitled to possess for ever, with all prerogatives and revenues thereto annexed. »

Finally, these States may be said to have received their present form and extent in the XIII century, through the charter of Rodolph of Hapsburgh, embodying the engagements made by that Emperor in an interview with Gregory X at Lausanne, A. D. 1275, after which the territories usur-

ped by Frederic II were formally surrendered by the imperial Chancellor to the Commissioners of the Pope (1).

But the annexation of Urbino and Ferrara belongs to more recent history. The first Prince who governed Urbino, as an independent state, was Guido di Montefeltro, (1293) who, however, first received investiture from Boniface VIII, as if deferring to a higher title in the Papacy. The conquests of Cardinal Albornoz, in the XIV century, reduced that state to subjection, as well as the Marches and other provinces, which had renounced allegiance to Rome. Frederic, a descendant of the Montefeltro, assumed insignia as first Duke of Urbino, in the XV century, after confirmation of that title by Sixtus IV. The Duchy passed by inheritance, shortly afterwards, into the Della Rovere family, one of whom was deposed by the judicial sentence of Pope Julius II, in 1511, for the crime of assassination comitted by him publicly, in the streets of Ravenna, on the person of an ecclesiastical prince, the Cardinal Alidosi. The last Duke of Urbino, of the same family, finding himself without male offspring, made formal cession of his dominions to the Holy See, in 1626, afterwards retiring to terminate his life in domestic privacy. Thus, under Urban VIII, did Urbino become an integral part of the Papal Dominions, incorporated with Pesaro as a Legation.

The first sovereign of Ferrara, as an independent state, was Azzo d'Este (1208) who at the same time became acknowledged chief of the Veronese Republic. The latter he was obliged to abandon by the terms of a treaty of peace with the Emperor Otho; but Ferrara was afterwards restored to

(1) « The possession of its states wes then confirmed anew to the Holy See, with particular mention of Romagna and the Exarchate of Ravenna. »

Muratori, Annali, anno 1275.

him, to be held (says one historian) « under the auspices of Innocent III. » After another temporary dispossession, the Este were again invested with their sovereignty, and by the Pope, in 1332, under condition of a yearly tribute of 10,000 florins. Borso d'Este who, though illegitimate, succeeded to his brother Azzo, in 1471, was crowned first Duke of Ferrara by Paul II. Alphonso II, who had raised the Ferrarese court to the highest degree of splendour and renown, dying without legitimate descent, Clement VIII declared that the feudal possessions held by the Este of the Church, had returned under her direct dominion; and in 1598, Don Cesare d'Este, whose descent from them was illegitimate, made cession of all claims to the estates in question, retiring to his Duchy of Modena, where he became founder of a new Estense line, whilst the Pontiff in person took possession of Ferrara, now erected, with its territory, into a Legation (1).

(1) It would be disingenuous to pretend that in either of these transactions the Court of Rome followed those principles that had been so honorable to the Papacy in the days of its highest ascendancy. Don Cesare d'Este, solemnly proclaimed and crowned Duke of Ferrara before the question was agitated against him, was himself legitimate, though his father, son of Alfonso I, had been only rendered so, before the law, by a mariage subsequent to his birth, but declared capable of inheriting by a bull of Alexander VI. Without regard to the dispositions of his own subjects, a monitory was directed against the unfortunate Prince by Clement VIII, who summoned him to make good his claims within 15 days, and caused an army of more than 25,000 horse and foot, levied expressly, to march against his territories, in order to prevent him from invoking the aid of foreign powers. Emissaries were sent to Ferrara to seduce the people from their allegiance; and it seems that fear even for his life acted on the mind of Duke Cesare, who at last entered into negotiations, resulting in a Concordat with Rome, by which he pledged heimself to abandon the possession of the Ferrarese Duchy, with all its appurtenences, reserving

In a spirit of veneration partaking of enthusiasm were made concessions to Popes, in the Middle Ages, rarely taken advantage of in their fullest sense, but accepted as demonstrations of devout loyalty, as tributes of piety towards the Church. Nothing bears more speaking testimony to the sentiment of ages of faith than this self-abnegating deference to the Power wielding so little of material force, yet so mighty in its moral influences. Thus, in the VIIth century, did Ina, king of the West Saxons, after arriving at Rome to worship *ad limina Apostolorum*, render his Kingdom tributary to the Pope. Thus, in 1014, did the sainted Emperor Henry, after his coronation at St. Peter's, pass a decree in a general Diet that the imperial title should never be assumed by his successors till their election was ratified by the Pope. In 1242 a King of

to himself, however, the rights and immunities attaching to the same. The subsequent occupation of Commachio by Papal troops was (as Muratori observes) even less justifiable, because that town was not even a dependency of Ferrara, but held by the Este, since 1354, in virtue of investiture from the Emperor. Nor was the annexation of Urbino less an example of the feudal principle which treated nations as moveable property attached to soil, transferable at the pleasure of their masters. The last Duke, Francesco Maria, an enlightened and beneficent Prince, did indeed make donation, on the death of his only son, of his Duchy to the Church, after (in the words of Muratori) «the quintessence of Roman dexterity and eloquence had been applied to induce him to renounce». Regard for the future interests of his subjects, left without male heir to the reigning house, mainly influenced the Duke, but he regretted when too late, and made a vain attempt to revoke his consent to the wishes of the Roman Curia. Thus did the Holy See become at once possessed of additional territories including Urbino, Pesaro, Gubbio, Sinigaglia, Fossombrone, Cagli, Urbania, San Leo, besides 300 smaller towns and villages. — One is reminded of the diplomatic courtier in Goethe's «Tasso», who observes: *Rom will alles nehmen, geben nichts.*

Armenia sends ambassadors to do homage to the Pope and the Emperor alike. In 1278 Charles of Anjou, after being crowned as King of Sicily at St. Peter's, renews oaths of fidelity already made to the Pope, with homage for his crown as vassal to the Holy See — an engagement again renewed, in the following century, by Frederic of Arragon. In 1304, Louis of Arragon does homage to the Pope for Sardinia and Corsica, over which he had received sovereignty by investiture from Boniface VIII. In 1329 a king of Denmark addresses himself to a Pope in language thus cited by Voltaire: « The kingdom of Denmark, as you know, most holy father, depends solely upon the Roman Church, to which it pays tribute, and not on the Empire. » The English reader must be sufficiently familiar with the details of the submission of our King John; but a more modern British sovereign, Henry VII, demanded the confirmation of his title from a Pope, Innocent VIII, who accorded it to him in a bull cited by lord Bacon. The common law of the Middle Ages recognised the title of the Pope to dominion over all islands, wheresoever discovered; and however this idea originated, it obtained long without being called into question. Conformably thereto the Normans, after their conquests in Sicily and England, did homage to a Pope, who granted the investiture desired for ruling over these territories; Urban II bestowed Corsica as a patrimony on the Bishop of Pisa; Adrian IV guarantied the possession of Irdand to Henry II; Don Henry of Portugal demanded from Martin V investiture for the islands in the African seas discovered by expeditions he had equipped, and received perpetual donation to the crown of Portugal of all territories to be discovered between Cape Bogador and the East Indies. It is well known how, in 1493, Alexander VI drew on the chart a line of demarcation from the Arctic to the Antartic Pole, which was to decide future claims to the possessions of the New World, assigning to the Spanish crown all lands beyond

that bouudary at a hundred leagues distance from Cape Verd and the Azore Islands.

In the Rome of the present day, which, as a modern city, scarcely dates beyond the XVI century, where splendour and ruin, patrician pomp and almost rustic rudeness are so strangely blended, where solitary lanes and fields, vineyards and isolated cottages stand within the same encircling fortifications as crowded streets, Basilicas and palaces, the eye perceives many traces of a past fraught with vicissitudes so extraordinary. Humanly speaking, the shocks and devastations to which this city has been subjected, sufficed to have annihilated any metropolis upon earth. But a glance at the story of Rome, since the Christian era, may convince that she has been providentially preserved for great purposes, especially chastised and especially exalted — and if appropriately called « the Niobe of Nations, » still more justly proclaimed the « Eternal City. » In the early years of the V century, under the feeble reign of Honorius, Alaric marched thrice against Rome: the first time he advances within a few miles, then suddenly retreats, as if impeded by some mysterious power; but again appears, in 408, when the City is besieged, driven to extremities by famine and pestilence, till forced to redeem herself by a ransom, accepted by the Visigoth, who exacts 5000 lbs of gold, 30,000 of silver, 4000 vestments of silk and 3000 dyed furs. Still more disgraceful is the condition imposed that a rival Emperor, the creature of Alaric, must be accepted in place of Honorius: Attalus, formerly Prefect, is raised to the degraded dignity, but only during the pleasure of the Visigoth, who soon deprives him of the purple thus dishonoured. But the third time Alaric returns less placable; and on the 24th. of August 410, the City is taken, the queenly Metropolis of the world for the first time abandoned to barbarian foes: delivered up through treason, her walls are entered at the dead of night, and the blast of the

Gothic trumpet announces to her inhabitants that the invaders have passed through the Salarian gate. For six days and nights continues the work of devastation and pillage; Huns, Germans, Alains, with the Arian Goths, bivouac in the Forum, pour into the palaces to ransack their treasures and accumulate spoils of incalculable wealth. One principle, however, still commands submission and stays the spoiler — Christianity is respected, her temples remain unviolated; the Basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul are protected by guards stationed there by the invaders theemselves: and then was presented a spectacle unexampled — amidst scenes of horror and anarchy, a peaceful procession of priests and religious, escorted by the victorious soldiery, bearing back to St. Peter's, as expressly ordered by Alarie, the sacred vessels which had been deposited for safety in a convent on the Coelian Hill.

This tremendous disaster to the doomed City seems to have been ordered by Providence as means of giving a last blow to Idolatry, more effectual than had proved all the edicts of Christian Emperors for a century previous. The fanes and idols of Paganism had lately been readorned, in one of the convulsive efforts of expiring superstition: they were now for the last time and utterly despoiled, whilst the Christian sanctuary was venerated — a circumstance, no doubt, calculated to impress the popular mind. And that life-blood still flowed abundantly in the veins of Imperial Rome is evident, as we read that, four years after the siege by Alaric, she not only rose again in beauty with her palaces and public buildings restored, but repeopled with more inhabitants even than in the years previous; so that it became necessary to redouble the quantity of grain distributed to the people in the name of the Emperor (*Denina « Rivoluzioni d' Italia »*).

Attila, the fierce and hideous Kalmouk, who marched at the head of 700,000 slaves, spreading terror and desolation during a quarter of a century, crossed the Alps in 450, and

after laying waste the regions of Northern Italy, was advancing towards Rome, when he was met by St. Leo, and that mysterious interview took place, idealized by tradition and art, which, whatever its tenor, certainly resulted in a total change of Attila's plans, and the preservation of Rome from threatened destruction by his Huns. In 455, the Emperor Valentinian III having been murdered by a patrician named Petronius Maximus, in vengeance for a private wrong, the regicide mounted the vacant throne, and constrained the widow of his victim, Eudossia, to become his wife. To deliver herself from such hated union, the Empress summoned Genseric, the Vandal, from Africa: he disembarks with his forces at Ostia before the year is concluded which witnessed so many tragic vicissitudes. The great Leo again intercedes for the preservation of Rome, but obtains less from the Arian than from the Pagan; only the three principle Basilicas are spared, at his intercession, together with the lives and substance of all taking refuge at their altars. The city is abandoned for fourteen days and nights to massacre and pillage — the most terrible chastisement which had yet visited her « that was almighty named. » Whatever the Goths had spared now becomes a prey of the Vandals — works of art, gold, silver and bronzes, the sacred vessels of churches, and, among other consecrated objects, those hallowed spoils brought by Titus from the Temple of Jerusalem. The imperial palace is completely ransacked; the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, still standing in the pomp of Paganism, is despoiled of its gilded bronze; other public buildings are wantonly destroyed — and in remembrance of these outrages against life, property and artistic monuments, has the term « Vandalism » passed into a byword among nations. 60,000 prisoners, among whom are included the guilty Empress, cause of all this ruin, and her two daughters, are carried away with the incalculable spoils, supposed to have comprised almost the entire moveable wealth of Rome, into Africa. The V cen-

tury had not passed away when the doomed City was again besieged by Ricimir, the Suevian Goth, called the « Roman King-maker, » who had raised up and cast down at his pleasure Emperor after Emperor, the mockery of barbarian vengeance playing with the sceptre that had once crushed, bestowing on feeble creatures the power once irresistible, that even the name of her supremacy might become ridiculous. Rome is now defended by another of these phantom-emperors, Anthemius, raised up by the Greek Leo I, who first allied himself with, but afterwards opposed the Suevian. A prolonged siege is sustained, and the city is finally taken and given up to pillage without mercy, in every quarter except two, where Ricimir's countrymen were lodged. Anthemius, though allied to him by marriage, is assassinated, but, 40 days after, Ricimir himself is cut off by death, not violent; and in the four succeeding years, four emperors appear at Rome. From the time of Varro a constant tradition, said to be derived from the Sybilline books, had predicted that Rome should not exist more than twelve centuries — notwithstanding the boast, *Urbs Roma æterna*, on medals of Emperors, and other similar auguries of immortal duration. The twelfth century had now arrived; and Rome, as the metropolis of Pagan Empire, fell. Italy was at this period almost entirely occupied by invaders of various races. To support these, or legalize their settlement, their generals demanded one third of the territory from the boy-emperor, Romulus Augustus (called in derision Momillus Augustulus) who had been proclaimed by his father Orestes, a Pannonian Gaul, himself disdaining to assume the vain title. Orestes refused, and the barbarian troops rose against him under their elected chief, Odoacer, King of a race hitherto unknown. Without resistance they became masters successively of Pavia, Ravenna and Rome; then, after reigning scarcely a year, the feeble Emperor was deposed, and banished to spend the rest of

his days in the villa of Lucullus at Naples. (A. D. 476) His abdication was formally signified to the Senate, which body voted an epistle to Zeno, the Byzantine Emperor, representing the inutility of a further imperial succession in Italy. The brief period of the Herulian was followed by the more prosperous and beneficial Gothic rule in Italy, when was almost obtained that unity, in subjection to a single sceptre, which has been the dream of Italian patriotism in later years. Theodoric, the able sovereign and philosophically tolerant Arian, visited Rome A. D. 500, shortly after his success in the taking of Ravenna, which now became the capital of the Ostrogothic Kingdom. Repairs of fortifications and public buildings were effected by him in the ancient metropolis, where the Pontiff and people had received him with honours. Then first was the Tomb of Adrian converted into a fortress, as the « Castrum Theodorici; » and an annual sum was assigned for carrying on the restorations of Rome — perhaps the earliest example of what has since been systematised, for the presentation of antiquity, by the Papal government. After the fall of the Gothic Kingdom founded by Theodoric, which endured scarce 60 years, (493 — 553) the wars of Belisarius were the last successful opposition to invasion in Italy. Besieged in Rome by the Goths, he was seconded with ardour, and something like the heroism of ancient days by its inhabitants; but Greek and barbarian alike ravaged the plains around, and exhausted the resources of the Capital. The Goths recommenced their efforts with renewed energy under Totila, who reconquered central Italy, and disputed the possession of Rome with Belisarius. Commissioned by Justinian to recover the Empire of the West, the latter general laid siege to Rome in 537, and to prevent massacre and pillage the Pontiff Silverius capitulated for the surrender of the city, allowing the Greeks to enter pacifically by the Porta Asinaria, while the Gothic garrison, 8000 strong, withdrew by the Porta

Flaminia. In the same year, Vitiges, at the head of 150,000 Goths, again beleaguered the City, and another siege was carried on for 12 months, till a battle, in which 30,000 of his troops were slain, obliged Vitiges to withdraw. In the absence of Belisarius, Totila, after taking Fiesole, commenced another siege of Rome, in 545. The resistance was vigorous, but the citizens suffered cruelly from famine and disease. After scenes of heart-rending misery, the Isaurian soldiers guarding the Porta Asinaria agreed to admit the foe by treason, and Totila entered, either in January or April, 546. This time the conqueror was merciful; he desired to spare the lives of the unresisting, and all night caused his trumpets to sound outside the gates before entering the City, that its inhabitants might take refuge in their churches. Anastasius writes that Totila abode among the Romans like a father amidst his children. Moved by the remonstrances of Belisarius, who had arrived in the vicinity, remaining at Porto on the Tiber, he desisted from the intention of destroying public buildings, but caused many parts of the fortifications to be levelled. Yet it was by this merciful Arian that was effected the most absolute destruction of Rome — one of the greatest blows endured by any city of the ancient world. Learning that the Greeks had defeated the Goths in Lucania, Totila resolved to provide against their farther possession or settlement in the Metropolis by its total depopulation. He consequently marched southwards, taking with him the senators as hostages, but first compelling the entire population, men, women and children, to emigrate into the province of Campania. Thus, as Procopius narrates, Rome was left absolutely a wilderness of ruin and mansions deserted — a City without sound or tread, abandoned to the jackal and the wolf. The Pontiff, Vigilius, whose intercession might have availed, was in Sicily; and it does not appear that a single temple continued open where the holy bell was longer heard to

summon, or tapers lit the altar, for Christian worship. Full forty days continued this desolation, after which Belisarius entered with his Greek army, whose first undertaking was the restoration of the walls; and there is a curious circumstance recorded, confirmatory of Procopius's narrative: the gates having been carried away, it was only possible to fill their apertures by piling up the machinory of war, because no carpenters or locksmiths could be procured to prepare new ones! Within 25 days this repair was hurriedly and imperfectly effected; but the citizens were so far encouraged by the tidings as to return in the aggregate from Campania. Totila also returned; and the repeopled City was besieged again, though ineffectually, and with much slaughter on the side of the Goths.

Belisarius being called to serve the Empire elsewhere, not long afterwards another Gothic siege added to the catalogue of disasters so terribly inflicted and rapidly following each other, in the V and VI centuries. Flushed with success on the taking of Perugia, after a very protracted siege, Totila marched against Rome in 549, and it was in vain that energy and valour were opposed to him by Diogenes, deputed by Belisarius in command. The pangs of famine had again to be endured by the exhausted people, and the same perfidious guard of Isaurians again entered into concert with the besiegers for betraying the City. The Goths entered, as before, through the Porta Asinaria, thus delivered up to them, while the Greek garrison retired into the Castle af St. Angelo, as the Mole of Adrian was now called. The Greeks, compelled by want of provisions to surrender, were spared and treated with honour. Totila did his utmost to conciliate the citizens; he recalled those not yet returned from Campania, reestablished the senators, and induced many Gothic families to settle here. Appreciating the temper of the Roman populace, probably little changed from of old, he ordered equestrian games for their amusement, as if

hoping to spread oblivion over the past. Till 552 the Gothic king remained in peaceful possession; but in that year it was determined by Justinian to renew the war in Italy with greater energy. Narses was the new general sent against the Goths, whom he completely routed in an engagement among the passes of the Apennines, leaving about 6000 slain, among whom was Totila himself — a man of great and generous qualities. Narses then marched to Rome, the walls of which, now almost undefended, were immediatdy assailed by his troops, a heterogeneous concourse of various nations. The Goths, who had retired with their wealth into the castle, capitulated after a vigorous attack and resistance, their lives being spared by the conqueror. This was the last siege of Rome before the Papal sovereignty became established, and by no means one of the most disastrous. But the City in consequence lost her rank as a centre of government, being reduced to the merely provincial headship of a Duchy, while Ravenna became again, as before, capital of the Greek Empire in Italy. « The devastating incursions of Huns and Vandals, in the V century, could scarcely be compared with what Italy had to suffer from the rapacity and spoliations of the Greek captains under Justinian: during the eighten years that this war continued they persisted with insatiable cupidity and incessant diligence to amass treasures of gold, silver, jewels, vases, statues, whatever of value could be seized. Though discordant among themselves, these leaders were united in one object, vying with each other who should enrich himself most, and most speedily, by the spoils of miserable Italy. « (*Denina « Rivoluzioni »*)

The catastrophes of later ages proved, in some instances, still more overwhelming than all Rome had suffered at the hands of Goth or Vandal. In 1084 Robert Guiscard marched with his Normans upon this City, on the invitation of the great Pontiff, Gregory VII, to deliver him from the Em-

peror Henry IV, then occupying the place hostilely and supporting an Antipope. The terror of the Normans scared away the Germans; but Guiscard did not content himself with simply effecting the object for which Gregory had summoned him. Irritated by some feeble opposition from a party of citizens whose sympathies were with the Emperor against the Pope, the Norman Duke gave up as prey to the flames, in outrage more barbarous than even Vandals had inflicted, the entire region from the Flaminian gate to S. Lorenzo in Lucina (the modern Piazza del Popolo, Corso, and via Babuino), from the Lateran to the Mole of Adrian, or Castle of S. Angelo — a conflagration that swept away almost the whole city corresponding to those quarters of modern Rome, peculiarly the abode of wealth and commerce. From this period (observes Nibby) « the Rome of antiquity, generally considered, disappeared, and in respect to material construction, the era of modern Rome commenced. » The temples and other classic edifices of the Forum fell within that track of blood and fire where the Norman ravaged: hitherto had been preserved much of the monumental beauty and artistic pomp created by the religion and polity of Pagan Rome, and the actual desolation of the Forum, the encumbrances of its soil under which the ancient level lies so deeply buried, may mainly be referred to this catastrophe, the most materially destructive the City had yet suffered, reducing her architectural magnificence into a heap of ruins. And even the fragments of antiquity were removed, in consequence, from the study of future ages, for, in the hurried rebuilding of the dwellings necessary to man, after this conflagration, the materials found available amidst ruin were without distinction employed — not even the shadow of past glories was left.

But it was reserved for a period belonging to modern history, an epoch renowned for progressive civilization, letters and art, to witness the last extreme of violence against Papal

Rome, surpassing in sacrilegious fury, if not in destructiveness, all the outrages of old inflicted against things sacred and revered. In May 1527, this City was besieged by the Constable Bourbon, who arrived at the head of mercenary troops enrolled under the banners of Charles V. Previous events had prepared for the terrible catastrophe. Partly to satisfy his subjects, and partly from economic motives, the Pope, Clement VII, had, the year previously, sent away the troops garrisoning Rome. The Colonna family, in league with Moncada, the Spanish Viceroy of Naples, then took advantage of the opportunity treacherously to introduce the troops of the latter, who poured into the region of Borgo (comprising St. Peter's) occupied and sacked the Vatican, massacred the Swiss Guard, and did not even spare the wealth of the Papal Chapel or St. Peter's from spoliation. The Pope, who had been obliged to retire for safety into the Castle of St. Angelo, concluded a truce with Moncada for eight months, but after the return of his own forces from Lombardy, excommunicated the Colonnas, seizing on their feudal possessions. It seems to have been by instigation of that turbulent family and of Alphonso I of Ferrara, that Bourbon had determined on the taking of Rome. Clement wrote to deprecate and explain, and received from the Constable deceitful assurances, trusting in which he unfortunately disbanded all the infantry of the famous *bande nere*, who then served the Papal gouvernment. Bourbon arrived with 40,000 men, an army of adventurers, robbers and assassins — 6000 Spaniards, 3000 Italians, 4000 Jews, the rest Germans, and for the most part fanatic Lutherans. As pretext he demanded permission merely to pass through the City on his way to Naples, and under cover of a dense fog beleaguered it at the side near the Vatican. On the 6th May the attack began at the Porta Settimiana and Porta S. Spirito — both gates now included within the fortifications. Whilst foremost in heading an escalade, Bourbon was struck

by a musket ball from an unknown hand — though Benvenuto Cellini, in his boastful autobiography, takes the credit to himself — carried to a chapel near the Porta Cavalleggiere, he, shortly afterwards, expired. The Prince of Orange succeeded in command; and a struggle of only two hours ensued before the City was taken. Next day from the Janiculum to the Lateran were extended the quarters of the mercenary troops, eager for the plunder long promised by their leader. First were massacred in cold blood the Swiss guard and 700 citizens, who had fought in the defence: altogether, 4000 slaughtered, troops and citizens, on that day. Every church in Rome was sacked and profaned; at St. Peter's even the grave was not respected, and the sepulchres of Popes were ransacked for treasures. Relics were thrown out of their costly shrines — the holiest object to Catholic regards, the Eucharist itself, was trampled under foot. Without regard to rank or character, indescribable cruelties were inflicted on the highest ecclesiastics, on nobles and ladies, in the palace and the cloister. Princes, priests, Bishops, Cardinals, and magistrates, all suffered loss of property, and many the most cruel tortures. The Cardinal Colonna, who had been instrumental in bringing this dreadful disaster on the City, horror-struck at the consequences, gave refuge to, and saved life and proferty for many in the Cancelleria Palace. For two months continued this, the most ruthless sackage of Rome on record; and the entire amount of property destroyed, or carried away, has been estimated at twenty million scudi. «Not content with sacking palaces, houses, and all the sanctuaries, they made prisoners as many Cardinals, Prelates, courtiers and noble Romans as fell into their hands, and imposed upon them immense ransoms in money. Many of these they had tortured to constrain them to reveal treasures, whether hidden or not hidden; and the Abbots, Priors, and other superiors of monasteries, were all subjected to this usage.

Those who had ransomed themselves from the Spaniards, if they fell into the hands of the Germans, were again obliged to give up money, again tortured. Besides the plunder of all the sacred vessels and vestments of churches, were seen the saintly relics trodden under foot by these miscreants, and even the most holy Hosts thrown into the streets. Soldiers paraded about the City in splendid robes, with gold collars, or, for the greater mockery of religion, dressed in sacerdotal vestments, some even in the robes of Cardinals. Such was the unspeakable misery of Rome, that with reason was the army of Bourbon held to have done more evil to that metropolis than the Goths and vandals in the V century. » (*Muratori*, *Annali*, *tom. X.*) Still more vivid and harrowing are the details given by Giacomo Bonaparte, a cotemporary. « Fathers, (he states) were seen to sieze daggers in order to slay their unhappy daughters, that they might not fall into the hands of the soldiery; but, alas! one shudders to relate it, even this means did not always rescue them. In their horror, the witnesses of these terrible scenes had no more tears for weeping, no more voices for bewailing; like lifeless statues they stood with gaze fixed, frozen, silent: many mothers, no longer able to endure the spectacle, with their own hands tore their eyes out. Other unfortunates crept into subterranean vaults, where there came none to their assistance, and they were left to die of hunger. Often were seen fathers, mothers and children throwing themselves from the roofs of their houses into the streets, preferring to meet death dashed to pieces on the stones, rather than fall into the hands of these savage troops; sometimes the soldiers themselves threw their victims out of the windows. » Masquerades of detestable buffoonery, in ridicule of sacred things or persons, were exhibited in the streets: and among others was a profane travestie in the Papal Chapel, by Lutheran soldiers in the vestments of Cardinals, intended to caricature the ce-

remonial of a conclave, and elect to the Sovereign Pontificate — a worthy Apostle of such disciples — Luther! Among other losses were several libraries, wantonly burnt, and the Palatine Archives, of which the soldiery made a bonfire in the Sistine Chapel, used by them as stables. The Pope, who had again retired into the Castle of S. Angelo, was valiantly defended till the 5th June, when he capitulated, after suffering great hardships, and after a pestilence had broken out in the fortress. After a miserable captivity of seven months, he was required to pay as ransom 100,000 gold ducats, to be advanced at once, 50,000 more within twenty days, and 250,000 more in the term of two months — a disbursement impossible to him under such circumstances. Farther he was required to surrender the Castle of S. Angelo, the fortresses of Ostia, Civitavecchia, with the cities of Modena, Parma and Piacenza, then possessed by the Holy See. Removed to the Vatican, he was still treated as a prisoner, and finally brought back to the Castle, from which he contrived to escape disguised as a merchant, flying with a few domestics and soldiers to Orvieto. It is narrated that, during his imprisonment, a poor woman who supplied him with lettuces, being detected by the soldiery, was hanged for her compassion towards the unfortunate Pontiff. Of this sack of Rome a curious relic was found, in 1705, in digging for the foundations of the Verospi palace — a coffer containing 60,000 scudi, there buried for safety, which had remained undiscovered nearly two centuries.

Some considered this terrible event a Divine judgment against the false policy and degenerate Court of Clement VII. Certainly, in regard to the earlier sieges and sacks of Rome, a deep and general feeling prevailed, which is expressed by St. Augustine and Orosius, that those events were outpourings of the phials of Divine vengeance against the Pagan Metropolis, that mystic Babylon of the Apocalypse, whose crimes

and idolatries were thus to be expiated. One of the greatest destroyers, Alaric, is represented as himself possessed with the sense of an actual vocation, as the instrument of Heaven to chastise the guilty City. On his way to consummate that vengeance, he was met by a hermit in the passes of the Apennines, who endeavoured to dissuade him from the purpose: « Seek not, servant of God, » he answered, « to turn me aside from my mission. It is not from choice I lead my army against that devoted place. Some invisible power, that will not suffer me to halt a single day, urges me on with violence, crying out to me without ceasing — Forward, march against that City, against Rome, and make her desolate » (*Socrates*, *Hist. Eccles. l.* VIII. *c.* 10) In the prophetic visions of the Apocalypse are expressions admitting an application thus strikingly made by a modern writer: « It is said of these Kings without Kingdoms, at once the subjects and subverters, the allies and the enemies of Rome, that they shall fight against the Lamb. Now the barbarians by whom the seven-hilled City was destroyed, were, *without exception*, Arians, that is, rebels against the Lamb, who strove to dethrone the consubstantial Son of God, by stripping Him of his Divinity. Alaric, Astolphus, Genseric, Ricimer. Odoacer Theodoric, Vitiges, Totila, were all Arians: both Goths and Vandals were persecutors of the Catholics; but not one single barbarian king or chief, who was a Pagan, ever entered Rome; and when the advent of Radagast and Attila, both heathens, seemed inevitable, they were visibly driven back by the hand of God » (*Dr. Miley*, « *Rome under Paganism and the Popes.* »)

Of the features that distinguish the Papacy among other sovereignties, one of the most impressive is its enduring resistance, with vigour never crushed, vitality never extinguished, against attacks internal and external, from popular faction and treason, feudal aristocracy and imperial usurpa-

tion or violence, exceeding all that has been suffered and survived by any other power, the centuries of whose duration have approached those of the throne founded by St. Peter. The story of those attacks and oppositions, met with such self-sustaining energy, is deeply interesting, because attesting the existence of a principle superior to all the combinations of circumstance and human hostility, and implying-what is indeed the great lesson and meaning, more or less distinctly announced in all History-a revelation of Providence on earth. These continued assaults of centuries, dashing like storm-heaved waves on a moveless rock, against the throne of St. Peter, without ever shaking it, have been in fact, to use the expression of an eminent English theologian, « the onset of the world against a principle that cannot die. »

One source of oppositions the Papacy has had to encounter from its temporal subjects, has been the tradition of republican liberty and dominion in the minds of the Roman people; another, the vaguely defined authority and pretensions of the Senate, often exaggerated to the last degree, always attended with prestige from memory, association, and the magic of names. If to these be added, in respect to mediæval periods at least, the spirit of aristocratic ambition and independence, perhaps the whole secret of antipapal movements in the Roman States will be explained. The struggle of the Romans against the heads of the Church, begun, according to Hurter (see his admirable Life of Innocent III) shortly after the death of Innocent II, in 1143. From that time the nobility, arguing that a popular government might secure influence greater than they enjoyed under the authority of one person, systematically united with the people; and as an oath required by an Emperor at a distance, bound the powerful families much less than that by which their faith was pledged to a Pontiff close at hand, they inclined to recognise the German Emperor rather than the Pope as their sovereign. But, early as the X cen-

tury, attacks on the Papacy, and actual usurpation of its rights by aristocratic violence, produced in the Metropolis a state of things the most deplorable, fraught with scandal and tragic vicissitude. The City was then tyranized over from the Castle of St. Angelo by two ambitious and unprincipled women, Theodora and Marozia, their husbands, paramours and sons, one of which latter usurped the Apostolic throne, under the name of Iohn XII, though shortly to be deposed for his flagrant vices by Otho, the very Emperor whom he had crowned at St. Peter's. To the Counts of Tusculum and their infamous partners succeeded the Cenci (or, in the Latin form of their name, Crescentii) in lordship from the same fortress; and scarcely had the remains of one of these, hurled from the battlements, been consigned to earth, in 998, when his successor displayed on his person the audacious title *Apostolicæ Sedis Destructor*. Yet — strange union of political weakness at home with moral power abroad in the Papacy — that very century, so disastrous to Rome, witnessed seven dynasties on the imperial throne, the eleven Emperors pertaining to which all received their crown from the hands of Popes, all bound themselves by oath to become champions of the Holy See!

The great character and energies of Gregory VII, secured a social and ecclesiastical restoration in the century following; but how stormy and marked by disaster his own Pontificate and those of his successors in the XII and XIII centuries, is evident from accumulated facts in the annals of that period. In 1143, the Romans, instigated by the appeals of Arnold of Brescia, rebelled against the Pope, proclaimed liberty on the Capitol, and reconstituted the Senate, with all its antique jurisdiction. In the next year was repristinated the dignity of patrician, whilst the Capitol still remained in the hands of the insurgents; and the newly elected Pope, Lucius II, attempting in arms to seize that stronghold, unseat the Senators and destroy their faction, was repulsed with injuries to his per-

son of which he died. Alexander III by his high qualities commanded veneration, and was on several occasions received in Rome with enthusiasm; but his successor, Lucius III (1181) was obliged to fly from popular tumult, and only enabled to return to his metropolis for a brief period by the assistance of the king of England and other princes. In 1225, Honorius III, though of the powerful Savelli family, was reduced to take refuge from his turbulent subjects at Tivoli, and subsequently obliged to fly to Perugia, after being assaulted by the creatures of the Frangipani, when in the very act of celebrating Mass at St. Peter's. In 1228 Gregory IX was exposed to similar sacrilegious outrage, in the same sanctuary, perpetrated by the same family then leagued with Frederic II, who had created for himself a party among the Romans by bribery. Alexander IV (1254) was constrained to fly to Viterbo leaving Rome in the power of Brancaleone, the Prefect, who had been liberated from prison in a popular tumult provoked by the oppressions of the Annibaldi family. In fact, during great part of this century, the Popes were scarcely even able to visit Rome, but resided almost continually at Viterbo or Perugia, two of the cities where they still found loyalty and safety. A picture is preserved to us of Rome in that turbulent XIII century, full of suggestions to the historian and romance-writer. The great feudal families had then the entire City mapped out under their respective sway — a bloody stage for the warfare of petty despotism. The Orsini held their Castles on the Monte Giordano, the Campo di Fiori, and in Trastevere: the Castle of St. Angelo, the great object of ambition, whence it was usual to exact toll from all crossing the bridge below, was also theirs, though later wrested from them (in the XIV century) by Louis of Bavaria. The Gaetani held the Torre delle Milizie (still standing on the Quirinal), the castellated Tomb of Cecilia Metella surrounded by their most extensive fortress, and the island of St. Bartholomew.

The Savelli had their principal castle (now S. Sabina) on the Aventine, besides their palace built within the theatre of Marcellus. The Conti domineered from the lofty tower still bearing their name. The Annibaldeschi were fortified in the Colosseum, and a tower near the Basilica of St. Mark. The Frangipani had entrenched themselves in the Septizonium (a part of the Palatine ruins now reduced to a formless pile), at the Arch of Titus and that of Constantine, the classic architecture of both which was encumbered by their fortifications. The Stefaneschi, Papareschi and Normandi divided the Trasteverine region under their sway. The strongholds of these domineering families were either destroyed, or their battlements dismantled and lowered by Calixtus III, in the XV century; but the devastation of antiquities continued much longer: the Colossum, especially, seems to have been regarded as the common quarry for all the powerful barons to use, as proved convenient, for erecting or repairing their castles or palaces.

The transfer of the Holy See to Avignon was, without doubt, the greatest misfortune of medieval Rome and of Italy. Ughelli says, in his « Italia Sacra, » that the wars and ruins consequent upon it were greater than all suffered from the ancient invasions of barbarism; and Petrarch has left moving pictures, in his letters, of the desolation of Rome when deserted by the Popes. « Invitus dico (he says) nusquam Roma minor cognoscitur quam Romæ. » Its population was now reduced to 17,000: and other provinces of the Papal States were governed by usurpers; Ravenna and Rimini by the Visconti, Bologna by the Pepoli. An Antipope, raised up by Louis V of Bavaria, was not ashamed to rob churches, sell benefices and dignities, and condemn to the flames those who espoused the cause of Iohn XXII, the legitimate Pontiff. The Lateran Basilica was burnt down; all the principal churches were, more or less, in a state of ruin; and 50,000 florins, advanced by Benedict XII from Avignon, contributed little to

their repair. A striking picture of the desolation of Rome at this period is given in the words of Petrarch. « With what heart, holy Father (he says, addressing Urban V) — forgive the boldness of my zeal — with what heart canst thou sleep under the gilded ceilings of thy chambers on the shores of the Rhone, whilst the Lateran is lying low, the mother of all churches, without even a roof, abandoned a prey to wind and weather, whilst the sanctuaries of Peter and Paul are tottering, and what once were temples of the Apostles lying in ruin, formless heaps of stone, which might truly extract tears from hearts of stone. » The Municipality, appealing to Gregory XI, in 1376, says: » Come back, before all come back to us, because the aspect of this great City, once so revered over the the whole circle of the earth, is now so desfigured that none could longer recognise her as the Holy City and Head of the Church, whilst the most renowned and holiest temples of Christendom, those venerable monuments of the piety of the great Constantine, in which the Sovereign Pontiffs, invested with the insignia of their supreme dignity, used to take possession of the Apostolic chair, now left neglected, without honor or adornment, and in need of restoration, threaten on every side to fall into ruins; whilst the Cardinalitial Churches, consecrated resting places for the holy relics of so many Martyrs, are abandoned by those (the Cardinals) who have received their honors from their names and titles, and whose duty it is to care for them — their roofs, walls and portals crumbling in decay, they remain open to the herds, and cattle are seen grazing in them even up to their altars. » The contests of the Orsini and Colonnas added to the misery and anarchy prevailing within Rome — a disastrous condition represented with earnest entreaties to the Pontiff for their return, by repeated missions to Avignon, in one of which was the first public appearance of Rienzi as constituted representative of the people. His government, ultimately sanctioned by the Pope, only resulted in discontents,

insurrection and murder, bringing to tragic close the career of the once idolised Tribune. The final restoration of the Holy See to Rome, in 1377, by Gregory XI, was hailed with universal jubilee; but his magnificent public works and beneficial reforms did not guarantee for that Pontiff the obedience of the citizens, mortification at whose ingratitude is supposed to have hastened his death. During the long schism that followed, while Antipopes continually disputed the tiara with the legitimately elected, Rome was agitated and torn by internal factions, besieged and taken by an invader, and again depopulated, in the absence of its sovereign and court, soon after that schism had been healed by the Council of Constance. Some years previously, whilst Gregory XII, the legitimate Pontiff, was absent from Rome, maintaining his rights against the pretensions of an Antipope, Ladislaus, king of Naples, raised an insurrection in the Papal States, directed to farthering the schemes of his ambition, and with an army of 15,000 horse and 800 foot, landed at Ostia. After several bloody engagements under the walls of Rome, he was enabled to enter the City through the treachery of its inhabitants (25th of April 1408) received by a party favorable to his interest with homage and pomp. After two months, however, this occupation ceased, but the factions for and against Ladislaus would not rest till they had brought the question to a final issue by an engagement in the Via Lungara (Trastevere), under the leadership of the Orsini, Savelli and Colonnas, a struggle which proved long, obstinate and sanguinary — its result unfavorable to the king. A few years later the professions and promises of Ladislaus deceived Pope John, who left Rome, confiding the government to its Senate and nobles. That same night, (May 7th 1413) the Neapolitan troops entered through a breach in the walls, and without the slightest opposition became masters of the City. A period of lawless outrage and misery ensued; those families faithful to the Pope, as the

Orsini, were maltreated in every way, and many of the papal household were robbed and murdered on the highways. A month later Ladislaus himself entered Rome, took up his abode in the Vatican, and laid siege to the Castle of St. Angelo, which held out for the Pope, and was not surrendered until after nearly four months' resistance. Meantime were reduced to the obedience of Ladislaus, all the towns between Rome and the Sienese confine; but that rapacious and avaritous king, satisfied with the extortion of 17,000 florins from the Roman citizens, when this object was obtained re-embarked for Naples. After the Council of Constance had put a term to the disastrous schism, (1417) the Pontificate of Martin V was one of the most splendid and prosperous for Rome; but his successor, Eugenius IV (1431), was obliged to fly from a violent insurrection in disguise, embarking on the Tiber in an open boat for Ostia. During his absence of more than nine years, the condition of the City became deplorable, and it was at the earnest prayer of its inhabitants, convinced by experience of their error, that the Pontiff at last returned, now received with rapturous loyalty. What the deterioration of this City during the absence of its sovereign and court in this last instance, is represented in a curious account from contemporary records. « It had become (says a chronicler) like a village of cowherds, and where now are the stalls of traders, were then kept sheep and cattle. » All the people were in *capperoni*, (a kind of rustic mantle with a hood) and one of the happy signs of revived prosperity, under the influences of a resident court, is noticed by this philosophic observer of *mode*, in the fact that the Romans now returned to their former fashions of dress — *si rivestirono*. — Though the restoration of ruined churches was promoted with energy by Martin V, neither he, nor his successor, Eugenius IV, were able to effect any thing like a general rescue of the City itself from decay. Rather did the progress of devastation con-

tinue even beyond this period, as we have evidence of in the graphic description of Poggio, referring to his mournful meditations among the ruins of imperial Rome. The Capitoline Hill, the seat of the Acropolis, the famous Temple of Jupiter, and so many other splendid edifices, was now (as he describes) covered with vineyards, and of the constructions of antiquity there remained on its summit nothing save the ruins of the Tabularium, over which the Palace of the Senator had recently been built. The Forum, on which the Senate and People had once assembled to give laws to the world, was planted with herbs and legumes, and used as a fold for keeping swine and buffaloes. The Egyptian Obelisks were all, except one, broken and buried under rubbish. The antique statues, of which a considerable number had yet remained standing in the time of Petrarch, all, except one in marble and one in gilt bronze, had disappeared.

The Italian civilization of the XVI century, though splendid in results, was actually superficial; the developments of genius, the cultivation of letters and arts, reflected lustre an the surface; but the age of Raphael and Ariosto, of the renovation of Rome and St. Peter's, was that of *Condottiere* warfare and Machiavellian politics, while profligacy and lawless violence prevailed in the obscurer walks of society, among neglected populations still rude and ignorant, however letters were cultivated and arts promoted to add new luxuries to the life of their superiors. The Popes had still to struggle against the wild ferocity of their subjects at the very gates, if not in the streets, of their Metropolis. The severest measures were taken by Sixtus V for suppressing brigandage, and rewards promised even to the guilty who should bring in accomplices, dead or alive. The head of one ringleader, who had styled himself the « king of the Campagna, » was exposed for many days on the bridge of St. Angelo, encircled by a golden crown, in irony of terrific exam-

ple. Sixtus, however, had scarcely expired when brigandage broke out anew in all the vigour of its former organisation; and a few years later, during the Conclave that elected Innocent XI, nothing was talked about in Rome but the outrages of banditti; while burning villages and devastated fields were the gloomy features of the landscape descried from every summit of the seven Hills. The effectual suppression of systematic brigandage has been achieved, indeed, within but recent years, since the restoration of the Papacy after the French invasions; even under the pontificates of Pius VII and Leo XII, the evil continued rife, though gradually yielding before an improved Police; and atrocious was the nature of outrages perpetrated on the highways, or in mountain fastnesses within little distance from Rome, in some terrific instances so recent as between 1820 and 1830. Subsequently to the events of 1848-9, has been a formidable revival of this warfare against society by the outlawed in the Papal States, but principally in the northern provinces, and rarely with the same desperate persistence or organised force as in former years. To return to the picture of these States in ages past — With the XVI century opened a new era for the temporal power of the Popes, with more of confirmed and definite dominion over States hitherto held by a tenure certainly legal, but frequently disputed or disowned. Alexander VI, a man of great energies, and restrained by no scruple of conscience, by no regard to either principles or treaties, in his favorite project of subjecting all Italy to the Duke of Valentino, his son, succeeded at least so for as to reduce most of the baronial families to that submission they had haughtily witheld, and the cities they domineered over to immediate dependence on Rome. Not the less fatal, however, to the Church's interests, and to the destinies of Italy was that Pontificate of ill omened renown, that example of profligacy on the most revered of thrones, and it is justly remarked by Sismondi: « L'opprobre dont il

couvrit l'église romaine pendant son règne, anéantit ce respect religieux qui protégeait l'Italie entière, et la delivra aux étrangers comme une proie plus facile à saisir. » Julius II continued with still greater success the work begun by Alexander in the subjecting of the rebellious to the Tiara; and if the Papacy now stood lower in moral credit, its temporal interests acquired a firmer basis as its sovereignty became gradually connected with the system of European Monarchies. From about this period also dates a new era to the aspects and conditions of its Metropolis. The destruction of antiquities had been so unsparingly effected during the last troubled centuries, before the term at which medieval history closes, that one may be surprised, after reading their annals, to see how much is preserved of Imperial Rome at the present day. Till the IX century many of the acqueducts had continued to supply their waters; but from about this period they fell into ruins, owing to the violence of man, rather than natural decay, though some had been restored by Pontiffs even earlier. The fora of Nerva and Trajan were adorned by their splendid edifices, still erect, till the X century, when they were reduced to ruin in the tumults attending the infamous domination of Alberic, Theodora and Marozia. The Forum, properly called « Roman, » of more ancient celebrity, was overswept by the Norman conflagration; and the adjacent Basilica of Constantine is supposed to have perished — leaving only three vast arcades — by the shock of an earthquake, in the XIV century. A new Rome was raised from ruin and ashes by the munificence of the Pontiffs, partly in the XV, but principally in the XVI century. Sixtus IV (1471) initiated this task with yet unexampled zeal, restoring antiquities, opening excavations, enlarging piazzas, rebuilding or levelling streets. Julius II (1503) might be considered (observes the archaeologist Fea) the third founder of Rome — so great the achievements and lavish the munificence of that warlike Pontiff. Much of the praise commonly awarded to Leo X, as

the Maecenas of talent, the restorer of classic magnificence and arts, belongs duly to his predecessor, who was the actual founder of the renovated St. Peter's and Vatican, the original patron and appreciator of Michaelangelo, Raphael, Bramante, Peruzzi and Sangallo. Raphael was charged by Leo X with the *surveillance*, and acquisition of all antiquities discovered within ten miles round Rome, and the obligation was laid upon all citizens of reporting whatever such objects might be discovered to him within three days, under penalty of from 100 to 300 gold scudi. A similar charge was given to Canova, as included among the duties of general Inspector over the Fine Arts in Rome, and throughout the States, under Pius VII. Civilisation must sympathise with the sorrow of Clement VII, when, returning from exile, that unfortunate Pontiff wept over the ruins and misery left in this outraged Capital of Christendom by the atrocious ravages of the hordes of Bourbon. But so soon afterwards as under Paul III (1534-49), the traces of that tremendous misfortune were almost obliterated; public edifices, improvements of streets etc. began to restore this city to its former splendour, though the full accomplishment was reserved for a later period in that century. The short pontificate of Sixtus V (1585-90), more than any other preceding it, contributed to render Rome in construction and adornment what she is at the present day. That great sovereign understood, however, the entreprise of restoration in a peculiar sense: it was in order to rendering the monuments of Paganism serviceable as trophies of Christianity that he valued the relics of antiquity. Obelisks rose again, but to be adorned with the Gross, and the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius were restored to become pedestals for the statues of Saints Peter and Paul. This Pontiff did not scruple to destroy the Septizonium of Severus; and other *chef d'œuvres* only found grace in his sight after receiving a Christian destination. The crowning achievement of his great underta-

kings was the completion of the Vatican cupola: the architects demanded ten years — he answered that he would allow them two; and after 600 labourers had toiled day and night, the dome swelled to the fulness of its majestic proportions within 22 months. The public works of Benedict XIV and Pius VI were the most splendid accomplished in the last century; and the latter Pontiff, especially, proved one of the most munificent benefactors of Rome.

The earliest restoration of the ancient fortifying walls, under the Papacy, was that commenced by Gregory II, (715 31) and completed by Gregory III, a defense scarcely accomplished, before the necessity for it became apparent when the City was beleaguered by Astolph, King of the Lombards, A. D. 755, the vicinity laid waste, and the siege only raised by the interposition of King Pepin, on whose approach Astolph withdrew to Pavia. Another restoration was effected by Adrian I (772-94), and a writer is cited by Mabillon who, having visited Rome in 848, deseribes the Aurelian fortification along the river side, now totally destroyed, as then in perfect preservation. The same witness gives a minute account of these walls, as he had seen them, counting the number of their towers, 383 — their castellated constructions, 7020 — their gates 14, and 6 portals. In 846 the Saracens, sailing from Sicily, reached Rome by the Tiber and devastated the environs, pillaging the Basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul (then both outside the walls) To prevent recurrence of similar outrages, an important work was undertaken by Leo IV., that energetic Pope of whom Gibbon says: « He was born a Roman; the courage of the first ages of the Republic glowed in his breast; and amidst the ruins of his country, he stood erect, like one of the firm and lofty columns that rear their heads above the fragments of the Roman Forum. » In the year 848 it was that Leo effected a restoration of the whole line of walls, and the Vatican, with its purlieus, was enclosed within a new

fortification, adding to Rome a region called the « Civitas Leoniana », about two miles in circumference. Of the 44 towers included in this structure there remain at this day only 2, with 2 semicircular curtains connecting them, near the Vatican gardens. One branch of these walls was afterwards used for a covered way from the Palace to the Castle, which exists at present as restored by Alexander VI, and repaired since the siege of Rome 1849, when the republicans cut off the communication. The Leonine City was taken by the Emperor Arnulph, in 896, and the remainder of Rome soon afterward became his by capitulation. But a reconciliation being effected between Arnulph and the Pope, Formosus, who consented even to crown him, the occupation ceased to be hostile and was speedily terminated. Another siege of Rome, at this side, was undertaken by the Antipope Cadolaus in 1063: the Leonine fortifications were entered by night, but the people repulsed the unholy pretender, who took refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo, admitted by Crescentius (or Cencio) son of the Prefect. In 1167 the Leonine City was again taken by assault, by the Emperor Frederick, and the Pontiff, Alexander III, was obliged to take refuge in the fortress of the Frangipani at the Colosseum. Frederick, not being successful in imposing upon the Romans the Antipope Paschal, whom they would not acknowledge, and moreover alarmed by a pestilence then raging in the City, speedily withdrew. The walls were again repaired, in 1408, by one who came with hostile purposes against the Papacy, Ladislaus of Naples; afterwards in 1451 by Nicholas V, and in the next century by Paul III, which last Pontiff, having witnessed the horrors of the siege and sack by the troops of Bourbon, had the Vatican surronded by new and stronger defences, a work he confided to Sangallo. Restorations and new gates were constructed by Michelangelo, under Paul IV, in 1564; and subsequently similar works have

been ordered by various Pontiffs up to the present century, in which the last great repair of the Roman fortifications was the rebuilding of the Porta San Pancrazio and a long extent of bastions on each side, after the siege of 49.

Few parts of the modern city stand on the original soil of ancient Rome. One literally treads on the dust of Empire, the crumbled relics of ages gone by, at almost every turn in this City; and there is something peculiarly impressive in the idea of these unseen ruins that lie buried below our feet. Excavations have shown, in many parts, the exact height of the accumulated masses. On the hills the general elevation is of 8 feet; but on the Palatine the first storey of Augustus's Palace is completely entombed; on the Coelian, near the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, the height is 80 feet, and within the villa Mattei about 30. Near S. Niccolo in Carcere are 9 feet of accumulation; in the Forum an average of 27; in the Forum of Trajan 10; in the piazza Guidea 18; in the Corso — though not one of the most populous regions of ancient Rome — along the extent between the Piazza Colonna and Piazza Sciazza, 24; in the via Condotti 16 feet. But these accumulations are not entirely of modern date. The city gates raised by Honorius, as well as those restored by Belisarius or Narses, are obviously at this day standing on their original level. Such is the case with the Porta S. Lorenzo, built by Honorius in 403, whilst the conspicuous monument of the Marcian, Tepulan, and Julian acqueducts, raised by Augustus, one of whose arcades has been used as an inner archway to the same gate, is so buried in earth that loaded waggons can scarcely pass under it; and that such, or nearly such was the condition of the spot when Honorius raised these fortifications, is attested by the inscription: EGESTIS IMMENSIS RUDERIBUS.

Rome contains 54 parishes and at least 300 churches. A

popular tradition indeed, makes the number of her Christian temples correspond to that of days in the year; and it is asserted that if every private chapel in palaces, colleges and convents be included, that amount would actually be given. Fifteen of these churches have collegiate chapters, of which 7 belong to Basilicas; 155 are officiated by secular, and about 130 by the regular clergy.

The present circumstances, political and financial, of the Papacy are mainly to be accounted for by reference to events of recent history, and much may be explained, much more excused, if due consideration be given to the effects of vicissitudes, the complicated web of whose combinations cannot be brought within the limits of a sketch so slight as this. With regard to finances, it may be observed that it is only since the great Revolution, and principally since the troubles in these states subsequently to 1831, that has existed that deficit in the Papal treasury, now almost become a byword of reproach against this Government. Even in the present century, up to the year 16, a surplus had been annually found in the balance of its revenue and expenses, which then first gave place to a deficit of 16, 894 scudi; still were there means for retreiving and restoring the administration to prosperity within 2 years later, when was again an averplus amounting to Sc. 988, 248; and in 1819 no deficit had yet reappeared. The subsequent disorder of finances dates from the pontificate of Leo XII, from which epoch the greater part of public expenses has weighed upon the Communes, and an enormous deficit began annually to appear, with the increased burden of sopport for foreign troops, called in by circumstances the most deeply to be regretted by all well-disposed towards the Papacy. The maximum of this deficit was realised after the troubles at the beginning of the last Pontificate, in 1832, exceeding four and a half millions: and when the present Pontiff ascended the throne, he found a deficit of 877, 217 to a revenue of Sc. 9,800,073.

The revenue of the Roman States for 1859 was 15,752,307 scudi, showing an increase over the receipts of 58 by 90,279. The expenditure for the present year was estimated at 14,568,861 scudi, exceeding that of 58 by 48,839, and including 4,547,750 as the interest of the public debt. The lottery figures in the estimates for this year as yielding the amount of 1,184,800; and in the expenses 2,082,358 are set down for the army, less than in any other State on the same rank with regard to extent.

It is unnecessary here to enter into the details of calamity amid which.

Th'ancestral fabrics of the world went down
In ruins — »

at the close of the last century; but the fact may he noticed as accounting for embarrassments in the result, and illustrative of the revolutionary spirit in its dispositions towards the Papacy, that after the occupation of Bologna and Ferrara, in 1796, hy General Buonaparte, Pius VI was constrained to purchase peace by a tribute of 15 million francs, the surrender of 500 MSS from the Vatican Library, wth 100 pieces of painting and sculpture, chosen from among the most precious by French Commissaries! That sacrifice was in vain; and during the republican occupation of Rome, before the end of the century, again was this devoted city condemned, though by legalised means, to a veritable sackage. Again were palaces despoiled of their treasures, the churches of nationalities hostile to France, desecrated and pillaged, without respect even for sepulchres, several of which were actually broken open for the sake of their leaden coffins; and over and above other impositions, the « Roman Republic » was condemned to pay 3 million scudi for the « Army of Italy, » hesides 600,000 more for the maintenance of the French troops during their stay within her territory. The losses then sustained by these States in their artistic wealth were greater than could he repaired. Not only had the Treaty of Tolentíno san-

ctioned the spoliation of Art-treasures, as mentioned above, but in the years following the most remorseless exactions continued to desolate the oppressed Metropolis and provinces of Rome. The plundering of churches and galleries proved of consequences to great degree irreparable, even by the great act of restitution by which Italy was indemnified for her wrongs in this respect. On the delivery to Papal Commissioners of pictures and statues restored subsequently to the occupation of Paris by the Allies, besides the works removed according to the terms of that despoiling Treaty, were claimed 3000 paintings, proved to have been withdrawn from the Papal states, of which only 22 were ever recovered by their former possessors. Among antique statues lost by this metropolis, 20 of the finest remained in the Bourbonic Museum at Naples; and even the noble group of the Tiber, corresponding to that of the Nile, with its children, never saw the shores of its own river again. Of the ancient coins 30000, and all that remnant of the celebrated Vatican gems which had been spared in the plundering by Republican invaders, were necessarily forfeited, as, according to the terms of the Paris Treaty, they could not even be claimed by the Papal representatives, because deposited at the time, not in public museums, but in the apartments of royalty at Paris. The Borghese collection of antiques, transported from Rome in 1807, which the heir of Prince Marcantonio might have recovered, were volontarily abandoned; the Albani Museum, seized and carried away by violence, was alone, though not in its integrity, destined to adorn once more the ancestral palace of that family (see Bunsen, « Beschreibung Roms »)

The authority which acted in the name of the Directory and Atheism, which deposed and carried away the octogenerian Pontiff, dragged from his palace with insult, on a winter's night, to die in exile and captivity — that usurpation was purely odious, and in its effects to Rome, pernicious; but the

Imperial governement, established ten years later, unquestionably conferred benefits on this City, however unjustly founded, and though inaugurated by an act so outrageous as the deportation of Pius VII, after the Quirinal Palace had been entered by escalade in the dead of night (6th July 1809). That government initiated public works, (many completed under Pius VII) to which we are in great measure indebted for the restored City of antiquity — the Rome of classic ruins, the laying open of the Roman Forum with its temples, of Trajan's Forum with its Basilica, besides many other improvements tending to comfort and security, as the public gardens on the Pincian and Coelian Hills, and the nocturnal lighting of the streets, which (strange to say) had been up to this time neglected. A million francs per annum were appropriated to these intelligently conducted works by the French; but, for the rest, their administration, with the complete change of system and *personnel*, induced a multitude of evils, depopulation, and such misery to countless families, once in affluence, that persons formerly in liberal professions, of superior education, were reduced to the necessity of seeking employment as day labourers in the open air, dependant on the charitable provision of as Committee of Public Beneficence!

Under Pius VII the embellishments and restorations initiated by the French were munificently prosecuted. To the present century indeed, may be referred the accomplishment, though not the undertaking, of the task that has rendered Rome, in so true a sense, the Metropolis of Art and centre of attraction to all admirers of the Antique and Beautiful. The modern City began to rise to its present illustrious position, with respect to Archoeology and the Fine Arts, early in the XVI century, but with much more rapid progress under the Pontiffs of centuries succeeding. As a centre of literary productiveness modern Rome has been surpassed in the race by other Italian cities; and there is too evident cause for regrets, in the retrospect,

at the decline, nay degradation in certain forms even of her Arts, betrayed in their creations of the last two centuries. In the XVIII commenced the epoch of public Museums in Rome, when Clement XII, Benedict XIV, and Clement XIII continued adding to the treasures of the Capitoline gallery, originated by the first of those Pontiffs. Pius VI was the actual founder of the Vatican, though to Clement XIV belongs the great idea of that Museum, whose principal treasures were discovered, and many collected within these walls, under Julius II, Leo X, and other Popes of the XVI century. But it was reserved for Pius VII to bring almost to their present perfection for those celebrated Museums, and manifest to the world, in a manner the most luminous, the claims of the supreme Pontificate as the patron of Genius, pledged to the recognition of the truth that, even when sprung from the darkness of Paganism, the creations of ideal Beauty bear witmss to the immortal destinies and aspirations of the human Soul. And the successors of Pius VII have fully apprehended this intellectual vocation. Never was the task of collecting and restoring the antique more zealously prosecuted in Rome than under Gregory XVI, founder of the sculpture gallery in the Lateran, of the Etruscan and Egyptian Museums in the Vatican — worthily emulated by Pius IX, who has created a Christian Museum in the Lateran, added to the public monuments of the City one of the most magnificent, and under whom have been accomplished the excavations of the Appian Way and Ostia, the discovery of the Julian Basilica, and of primitive churches, alike buried under the soil, on the Nomentan and Latin Ways, besides other important works for public adornment or improvement, reflecting honor on this Pontificate, the 258th in succession from St. Peter.

The population of Rome under her present Ruler has been gradually increasing; but it is worth glancing at the past

for the sake of observing statistics that curiously display the effect of the vicissitudes this City has undergone. No document determines its precise population at any period of ancient history, for the Census taken at intervals under the Emperors gave the number of free citizens throughout their dominions, not in the metropolis alone. From the report of Aurelius Victor respecting the quantity of grain exported annually into the City under Augustus, however, it has been computed that the inhabitants were then 1,950,000. Gibbon, rejecting extreme statements on both sides, assumes the average, at the highest period of ancient prosperity, to have been two millions. Nibby supposes that at the beginning of the III century, A. D, was reached a maximum something above that amount. Tournon (« Etudes statisques sur Rome » etc.) places it so low, even at the most flourishing period, as from 450,000 to half a million. When, A. D. 546, Totila obliged the whole population to migrate, it would have proved scarcely possible thus to dispose of even 50 or 60,000, including infancy, infirmity and age, amidst the hurry and confusion of military movements after uncertain conquest. The first record of this population subsequent to the barbarian sieges and Norman conflagration, shows that in 1198, it did not exceed 35,000, a lamentable decline, farther reduced by the translation of the Holy See to Avignon (as above noticed) so low as 17,000. The Pontificate of Leo X, one of the most brillant and prosperous after the return from Avignon, so far benefited the City as to increase its inhabitants to 60,000, but the massacre and pillage by the troops of Bourbon reduced them to 33,000. From the Pontificate of Sixtus V the amount continually increased; and at the beginning of the XVIII century reached 138,000. A French traveller describes Rome, in 1791, as a City of 166,000, full of fine buildings, with a character of grandeur and splendour. At the first French invasion, 1796, its population was 165,000, but

such the effects of Republican usurpation following, that when Pius VII was carried into captivity, the amount was not more than 123,000. Under the French Imperial administration it varied, but rapidly declined during some years, being only 117,882 in 1813, again rising considerably after the return of the Pope in 1814, on the accession of Gregory XVI being 150,056, and 170,199 when Pius IX was elected. During the perid of feverish political excitements that immediately followed, it rose, reaching in 1848 the yet unprecedented amount, for the modern City, of 179,006: but in the following year again declined, by more than 12,000, speedily to return, however, to the former average, which has since been exceeded. The census of the ecclesiastical body in this population, computed annually, shows an amount rather within, than beyond commonly received reports. One singular instance of the tardiness of [Rome in following the examples of civil progress set by other cities, is the fact that it was not till 1842 any official report of the census began to appear under Papal government. The first idea is due to the intelligence of Cardinal Consalvi, after the return of Pius VII; but the unsettled state of affars then being unfavorable to its accomplishment, this was reserved for the later date when it was carried out through the exertions of the then Governor, Monsignor (now Cardinal) Vanicelli, and, after a year's preparations, the first statistic table of the Roman population was made public. When we remember that Vossius and Lipsius ascribe to the ancient City 4 million inhabitants, we may apply to her modern representative the words from her own popular song of touching lament: *Roma non è più com' era prima*; but it is more to our present purpose to notice that there were, about this time, to a total of 177,971 inhabitants, ecclesiasties and religious numbering: 175 dignitaries, 32 of whom Cardinals, 1,656 secular preists, 2,428 Regulars, and 1,861 nuns. Since

the revolution of 1848 may be taken as an average the returns for the year 50, giving for this City, out of 170,824, the number of secular Clergy 1240 (without including 34 Bishops) of Regulars (or Religious Orders) 1892, of cloistered females 1467, and of seminary-students 321 — About a century ago this ecclesiastical population was 6,285, with 1814 nuns — statistics that may be contrasted with those of the primitive Church in Rome, where, A. D. 300, the altars of the yet persecuted worship were served by only 154 ecclesiasties, and in A. D. 520 by 380, including priests, deacons, subdeacons, lectors, and chanters. Notwithstanding the evils of ill administered or feeble government, in spite of popular defects and general backwardness in the race of modern civilisation, it cannot be denied that this most renowned of cities possesses fascinations peculiar to itself, experienced by the heart and imagination, and acknowledged by the testimony of friends and foes, of those who admit and those who reject the authority and teaching that emanate therefrom ; and the eloquent language of our great Poet :

O Rome, my country! City of the Soul!
The orphans of the heart shall turn to Thee,

seems anticipiated even in the formalities of political phraseology that designated her, three centuries ago, « *Communis omnium Patria.* (1) »

(1) Special treaties of Charles V, exempting the Papal government from all demands for the extradition of political offenders.

THE PAPAL COURT AND GOVERNMENT

La corte romana non teme più l'acerba censura del viaggiatore alemanno [*], la vita privata dei cardinali sfugge al commento dei novellieri, nè la calunnia potrebbe trovare argomento di durevole scandolo nelle sale auguste del Vaticano; e mentre sembra imminente il giorno avventuroso nel quale, cessando lo scisma, il romano pontefice sarà salutato da tutte le nazioni cristiane, come custode della parola di Cristo, cessano del pari i rancori, cessano le rivalità, cessano le gelosie tra le chiese nazionali, nè dà riputazione di libertà il resistere a Roma, come non dà vanto di spirito il sembrare miscredente.

LEOPOLDO GALEOTTI.

It was a magnificent morning, the 17th June 1846, when a multitude was assembled on the Quirinal Hill, occupying to its full extent the long irregular piazza before the pontific and other palaces, and round the sparkling fountain above which rise, on each side the obelisk, those sublime antiques, the colossal statues of Castor and Pollux with their prancing steeds. Serried arrays of troops added a more brilliant feature to the scene; and presently appeared processions of monks and friars, preceded by the Cross, and chanting litanies, as they slowly

(*) Luther — D'Aubigné, *Histoire de la Réforme.*

advanced through the densely pressing throng, among whom was evident the ascendancy of one emotion — eager curiosity or hope, with a species of subdued excitement it might have been difficult for a stranger to explain. All eyes were fixed on the far-stretching front of the Papal Palace, whose numerous windows were closed, the largest, opening on a balcony above the lofty portal leading into the court, having its aperture walled up. Presently was perceived a crumbling and yielding of the masonry within this aperture, and some artificers in the plainest garb, whose appearance evidently increased the excitement, stept out on the balcony. *Ecco i muratori*, were the words repeated by many; and, conformably with that calling, the masons soon completed their task of throwing down as much of the thin coating of wall as to allow easy passage through. After a few minutes was seen, glittering against the shadow of the recess within, the golden Cross carried in papal processions, then a few clerics in purple and white, then a Cardinal in his scarlet robes of state, and certain others alike in costume and dignity. The excitement of the crowd now rose to its highest pitch, but all was profound silence as the Cardinal who had first entered on the balcony, in a commanding attitude and with voice audible to many thousands, pronounced the words: *Annuncio vobis gaudium magnum: habemus Papam, reverendissimum ac eminentissimum Dominum nostrum Johannem Mastai Ferretti, qui sibi nomen imposuit Pius Nonus.* A tempest of jubilant sounds followed, formed by the chorus of *vivas* with exulting military music, broken on at intervals by the deep booming of cannon from a distance. Still were eyes fixed on that balcony, where another group soon appeared, all the Cardinals now standing before its balustrade, and waving handkerchiefs in response to the salutes of the people, till amidst them was brought forward one different in costume, and still more in expression, distinguished by a white cassock and rochet, a crimson silk mantle covering the shoulders, a gold embroidered

stole and white silk skull cap. Placed in the centre of the stately group, this Personage was greeted with a tumult of applause and martial music, ordnance from the fortress and pealing of bells from the churches. He raised his hand, went mutely through the action of blessing, and then supporting his head in both hands as he leaned over the balustrade, gave way to his emotion in a flood of tears.

The evening of the same day, shortly before sunset, all the population of Rome, undeterred by heat or the fatigue of crowding, streamed along the streets leading to St. Peter's. I was on the bridge of St. Angelo when the throngs had to give way for the passage of mounted troops escorting a cortege of chariots, in the most sumptuous of which sat the new Pontiff, looking flushed with excitement, but perfectly self-possessed, an amiable smile on his benignant placid countenance, as he gave the blessing with uplifted hand, turning to the right and left, that all might receive it and see him. *Oh, quanto è bello!* was the comment I heard on his appearance. In the great Basilica, where when this cortége arrived the whole space was occupied by the throng, were no files of guards along the nave, no distinctions between ranks or costumes, so that the vast area was filled by the crowd streaming and surging, and agitated by the eagerness of curiosity, in a manner to suggest comparison with the waves of a troubled sea. Soon above that dense mass of heads, between the graceful fans of ostrich feathers, was seen moving slowly the portative throne, on which sat for the first time, under a wide-spreading canopy of silver tissue, vested and mitred pontifecally, Pope Pius IX. The chant of the Te Deum swelled forth in a majestic cadence of vocal, without instrumental music, after the procession had reached the high altar, upon which the new successor to St. Peter was raised to remain during the the long ceremonial of homage that ensued, in which all dignitaries of the State advanced in order of precedence to

kiss his foot, on this sole occasion when the chief altar of earth's proudest Sanctuary, immediately above the tomb of the Prince of Apostles, becomes the throne of a mortal Potentate. Nothing disturbed the picturesque festivities or general good humor that prevailed in Rome that day; but surprise was generally expressed that the election to the Papacy should have fallen upon an individual hitherto so little known, one of the youngest in the Sacred College, and whose antecedents had not in any way connected him with interests of state or the great transactions of ecclesiastical diplomacy. Cardinal Mastai had not even a residence in Rome; and, it was said, had gone to the Conclave, as soon as arrived from his bishopric of Imola, summoned by the event which called the Sacred College to the task of filling a vacant throne, in a carriage borrowed from another Cardinal, among the least noticed or thought of among the eligible to the Triple Crown.

Not within a circle only penetrable for a privileged few, or within walls from which the multitude must be excluded, but in the open air, « in the sun's face and in the eye of light », aloft on the balcony of the great Basilica, where all Rome may witness it, is the ceremony performed that places on the head of the successor to a humble Fisherman this most venerated of earthly crowns. The solemnities of the coronation, otherwise similar to the Papal High Mass at Easter, but that the Pontiff only wears the mitre till the closing act has invested him with the proudest symbol, have many details fraught with that mystic significance so finely conveyed in the ritual language of the Church — as the litany invoking Almighty Power and the intercession of all Angels and Saints on behalf of the newly Elect, chanted before the shrine of the Apostles, which, as those whose voices it proceeds from are below the high altar, in that superb sanctuary called the Confessional, seems to emanate from invisible assistants at the stately ceremonial; and the striking memento conveyed by the fuming flax, thrice displayed and thrice

consumed, ut the end of a wand carried in the procession before the enthroned Pontiff, with the loudly chanted admonition: *Pater sancte, sic transit gloria mundi.* I was told on the best authority, that when the unusually short Conclave which resulted in this election, closed on the evening of the second day, and the Papacy was offered (according to formality) to him for whom the votes had decided, he almost fainted from emotion; and it was with difficulty the Cardinals could support him to assume his new robes behind the altar, and receive in the twilight then deepening to night, in that gorgeous chapel at the Quirinal, the inaugural act of homage from the Sacred College called *la prima adorazione.*

The Papal Sovereignty, though absolute, is so tempered in its exercise, by traditionary usages and forms, but still more by modifications due to the clemency and wisdom of many Pontiffs, as (with whatever deplorable exceptions) to be practically mild, and paternal rather than despotic in character. The Pope is the supreme administrator of the patrimony of the Church, and can no more alter or rescind from that which is integral to the nature of his sovereignty than the Monarch of England could dispense with the Constitution of that Empire. He must be elected, with a majority of two thirds, by the Cardinals assembled in Conclave, and is eligible of whatever nationality, without regard to birth or social position, though long usage has limited the choice within the College of Cardinals, and though for three centuries has been preference to Italian over other nationalities. The son of a husbandman or artisan, one who has commenced life himself in however humble employ, may, according to this system that sets aside all save moral and intellectual considerations in the standard of human worth, become elevated to the most sacred throne in Christendom, receiving the mystic crown conferred on the successor of St. Peter, with words expressing sublimest

prerogatives : *Accipe tiaram tribus coronis ornatam , et scias te esse patrem principum et regum , rectorem orbis , in terra vicarium Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, cui est honor et gloria in secula seculorum* The Pope is the only Sovereign whose very insignia remind him how lowly the origin of his sway , deriving from St. Peter , a memento of which is engraved on his ring of office (*Anello Pescatorio*) in the figure of that Apostle dragging nets from a boat. Utter disregard of the false conventions of the world is the distinguishing and noble feature in the supremacy whose highest title is the Vicariate of the Crucified. Several Popes have been of obscure , and indeed unknown origin ; and a few , laymen up to the time of their election. Gregory VIII , by whose genius was destined to be changed the whole aspect of Catholic history , was the son of a carpenter in an obscure village of Tuscany — though some writers have uselessly endeavoured to claim nobility for his ancestors. Adrian IV. (Breakspear , the only Englishman ever elected) was dependant , when a boy , on alms bestowed at the Monastery of St. Alban's. Urban IV. was the son of a cobbler ; Celestine V. that of a husbandman ; Benedict XII. that of a miller ; the mother of Nicholas V. was a poultry woman ; the father of Adrian VI. (the last foreigner ever elected) was either a weaver or a brewer at Utrecht , and it is stated of John XXII. that he began life either as a cobbler or an innkeeper. One of the greatest Popes in modern story , Sixtus V , gained livelihood when a boy , by keeping swine on the hills near a village in the Marches of Ancona , afterwards as a shoemaker , and many may remember the interesting picture drawn by Ranke of this child of great destinies studying , by the light of a lamp on the highway , because his parents could not afford to keep a candle burning in their cottage at night ! It is not required that the elect to the papal throne should previously have been either priest or bishop, though , in the nega-

tive case, he is ordained and episcopally consecrated before receiving the Tiara — as were two illustrious crowned ones, Martin V. and Leo X. Nor is any age prescribed by the canons for eligibility, though it is commonly assumed that that required in a Bishop, 30 years complete, should also be the earliest requisite in him who is Bishop of Bishops. But this rule has not, at least in earlier centuries, been adhered to: St. Alexander I. was raised to the Pontificate at the age of 20; John XI. at either 20 or 25; John XII. at either 16 or 18; and the XI Century was scandalised by the election of a boy Pope, Benedict IX, raised to the throne at the age of 12, according to Maimbourg, though other historians have given him 18 or 20 years at the time of that event; and after most scandalous conduct this youth actually sold the Papacy (1044) for 300 lbs weight of silver! The opposite extreme was in the case of St. Agatho, who had reached the patriarchal age of 103 before his election, and survived to fill the throne 4 years. A peculiar circumstance, in the history of the Popes, is the brief average period to which their reigns have been mostly confined. Cancellieri estimates this average at 7 years and 7 months. That St. Peter exercised the Pontific office for 25 years is assumed by most historians; and the fact that not one of his 257 successors has ever attained to the same period in governing the Church, is so remarkable as naturally enough to have given rise to one of those traditionary notions that deduce principles from the recurrence of events. Thus is it assumed that no Pontificate *can* endure long as that of St. Peter; and the saying, *Non videbis annos Petri*, was popularly applied to the Pontiffs at least as early as the XIV. century, though never introduced (according to a vague report) in the very ritual of the Papal coronation. This idea is expressed in an old distich that runs as follows:

Sin licet assumpti juvenes ad Pontificatum,

Petri annos potuit nemo videre tamen.

The longest Pontificate within the fatally prescribed period was that of Pius VI. — 25 years and little less than 7 months, and we find six others whose duration has exceeded 20 years. Yet have Death's doings been startlingly exemplified to show « how brief the cloudy space that parts the grave and throne » in the palaces of Papal sovereignty. Several have been elected in the full vigour of energetic existence, between the ages of 30 and 40 (as Innocent III, Gregory XI, Leo X.) — yet none survived to pass the fated limit! though, in a single instance, the usurpation of an Antipope, Benedict XIII, actually attained the 30th year — exceeding the days of St. Peter, as a chronicler observes, that the measure of his condemnation might be filled! Between 40 and 50 Pontificates have closed within 12 months; Sisinnius, Valentinus, Boniface VI, Theodore II, Leo V, John XV, Celestine IV, Marcellus II, and Leo XI, all died in less than a month after their elevation; and an event, I believe, unparalleled in the annals of sovereignty, was the death of one elect, (at Viterbo) within 24 hours after his elevation to the throne. What Shakspere says of mortality among Kings may therefore be most applicable to the ecclesiastical sovereigns —.

Within the hollow crown
That rounds the mortal temples of a King
Keeps Death his state.

Nor is it surprising that reflective and religious minds, anxious to apprehend the Divine purpose in all things, should have sought for special meanings — a mystery of Providence, in this narrow limitation to the years of the Pontificate. St. Peter Damian, questioned by Alexander II. why no Pope could live to rule the Church byond 24 years, assigned three reasons: in order that the supreme Pastor, aware how brief the period of his dominion, might live in holy fear, ever prepared, by blameless manners and fide-

lity to his duties, for a happy end — because, since all the world observes his life, the death of a Pontiff, like the sun's eclipse, should attract greater attention to the lustre of his virtues from their early withdrawal — because, in the spiritual government of Christendom confided to him, he should ever be remindful how soon will be demanded the final account of his stewardship. Little indeed is the Papal throne to be coveted for the sake of the splendours or unlimited indulgences allowed to temporal princes. The Pope lives without liberty, shut up in the circle of prescribed duties, bound by the same obligations of penitence, fasting and confession as the humblest ecclesiastic. None of the distractions or festivities of other Courts are allowed to his; every meal is taken by him alone; and he is truly (as Gerbet observes) « emprisoned in the sanctity of his character, finding that to him the Papal throne becomes the column of a stylite » (1) His court, though externally splendid, is austerely regulated, and his privy purse is estimated at not more than 4260 Roman dollars per annum, though offerings from the faithful in various countries have (especially in the case of his present Holiness) brought occasional augmentation to those narrow means. Among the thousand chambers of the Vatican few, and those not the largest, are reserved for his residence: in the Quirinal Palace he has a more magnificent suite; but his villa on the Lake of Albano, and that lately purchased at Porto d' Anzio, are surpassed in scale and grandeur by many country seats of gentlemen and noblemen in England. Though always appearing abroad with a cortége of chariots and mounted guards, in private his habits are simple, his dress entirely white, with a gold-embroide-

(1) Stylites, or pillar-saints, enthusiasts of early ages who spent years on the summit of columns, exposed to all changes of season, and never descending to the ground.

red Cross on the slipper which is kissed in the act of that homage he usually dispenses with from non-catholics at presentation, and of which he himself sets the example, as far as Christian humility is implied, by kissing the feet of priests (who are generally poor and strangers) during the solemnities of Holy Thursday. He holds no levees, but access to him is easy through application to proper officials for persons of almost every rank, with no other requirement, as to etiquette of costume, than black evening dress without gloves, and the veil for females. Several Popes had appointed days for public audiences; and this benignant usage was restored, shortly after his elevation, by Pius IX, though unfortunately subsequent events led his counselors to advise its discontinuance. It was on the Thursday of every other week, from 9 to 10 o'dock, that the present Pontiff was thus accessible to all classes of his subjects; as many as 50 used to be admitted in the same morning, with all of whom he conversed, one by one, as severally conducted to his throne, receiving petitions on which he used to make comment, sometimes in writing, and setting aside for reference to authorities those presented by parties who had grievances to be redressed. It was also desired by Pius IX, at the earlier and happier period of his pontificate, that all might approach him for presenting petitions when he went abroad; and a letter-box was placed in the Quirinal Palace for the use of supplicants. The Apostolic Almonry is a charge attached to this Court of great antiquity, and probably of date at least early as the VI. century, when a system for distribution of alms out of the Papal revenues was fully developed by Gregory, the Great and good. Paul the Deacon quotes from the Lateran archives to show that St. Gregory had created a permanent fund, from the patrimonies of the Holy See, for distributing assistance, four times a year, to all orders of ecclesiastics, Monasteries, Churches, Hospitals, urban as well as suburban;

also for a monthly supply of alms to all the poor in Rome. That saintly Pontiff ordered a Triclinium to be prepared in his palace for continuing the charity he had exercised before being elected to the Papacy, by daily entertaining and waiting on 12 poor men at dinner. It was anciently a custom for the Popes to scatter large sums of money among the people on the day of their coronation, when they also gave a banquet to Cardinals and Ambassadors. Pius V. substituted for this a distribution of the same amount by the Almoner, and ordered that 1000 scudi, appropriated to the banquet, should be divided among the poorer religious communities. From that period, (the XVIth century) has been continued the usage of distributing alms on the day before the Coronation, to all the poor presenting themselves, and it is in the great Belvedere Court of the Vatican that the Almoner, assisted by deputies, then bestows one paul on each applicant, children included, and two pauls on women in the state of pregnancy; also on the day before every anniversary of the Papal Coronation is a distribution of one half the amount in the same Belvedere Court. The present Pope, on his elevation, ordered the Almoner to distribute 6000 scudi in charity, and 53 doweries, of 50 scudi each, to young women in Rome, besides 1000, of 10 scudi each, for the dioceses of the provinces. Then also was revived another usual bounty, on the accession of a new Pontiff, in the gratuitons restitution of all pledges up to the amount of 5 pauls, by the *Monte di Pietà*. Within 10 years from his elevation Pius IX has spent for works of charity or public improvement not less than a million and a half of scudi, out of which 60,000 have been appropriated for the amelioration of prisons at Fano, Forlì, and Pesaro. The charities and self-denying virtues that have adorned the private life of Pontiffs, during so many centuries, could only be done justice to by a regular History of their reigns. Turning from the bright examples of earlier ages, I may ad-

duce instances of their beneficence and piety on recurrence of a solemn period, when the devotional and charitable system of Rome is displayed most luminously — the *Anno Santo*, or year of Jubilee. When that celebration took place in 1600, Clement VIII. bestowed on the pilgrims (who flock to this city so numerously at the consecrated period) more than 300,000 scudi, and frequently visited the Hospital, where they are entertained, to wash their feet and wait on them at table. Throughout the year he daily entertained nine pilgrims (the number corresponding to the years of his Pontificate) in the Gregorian Gallery of the Vatican, and twelve others at a table near his own, whilst taking his meals with them. In the *Anno Santo* of 1625, Urban VIII. assigned to the pilgrims 40 gold scudi monthly, besides the donation of 90,800 scudi made to the Confraternity having charge of the Hospital where such are supported during their stay; and the institution originated by Clement VIII. was revived by this Pontiff, of entertaining, in a palace near St. Peter's, all priests visiting Rome, for ten days, and all Bishops for 30 days, with gratuitous maintenance. In 1725 Benedict XIII. used to preach, confer the sacraments, visit the sick in private houses and in the Hospitals, and wait on the pilgrims as his predecessors had done; and in the last *Anno Santo*, 1825, Leo XII. revived these practices of humility and pious hospitality. Besides participating in and directing their devotions, he entertained at the Vatican more than 70 pilgrims, first waiting upon and then sitting down with them, to converse, distribute silver medals, and prove his interest in their welfare.

The only visits the Pope is accustomed to make are to foreign Sovereigns who may be in Rome, and the only entertainments he usually gives (except for extraordinary occasions, as above noticed) are in honor of such royal visitors, who are sometimes invited, together with Cardinals and Ambassadors, to a banquet at an early hour, in the summer house

of the Vatican, or that of the Quirinal gardens. On one picturesque occasion these court precedents were departed from by Pius IX, who, on the 25th September, 1856, gave a banquet to a number of students from all the ecclesiastical Colleges and the Orphan Asylum, with a superior of each, altogether 160 guests, in the Vatican Museum. His Holiness and ten Cardinals dined with this company, at one end of the long tables occupyng the Chiaramonte Gallery; and the effect of the scene may be imagined by whoever has seen that stately corridor of the Sculpture Museum, where the young students were now seated under statues and busts, including so many chef-d'oeuvres of ancient Art. After the repast the students of Propaganda recited poetic compositions in 15 languages, one from the lips of an African, — consistently with that equality of races nobly proclaimed, against anti-christian distinctions, by Catholicism — and the Pontiff distributed prizes to the value of several hundred scudi, assigned by lots, drawn from his own hand. I may add, as to the private life of Pius IX, that he daily celebrates Mass in his private chapel, and attends another Mass said by a Chaplain; dedicates the entire morning, till an early dinner, to his duties; then drives out, and (when beyond the city-walls) usually walks; returns again to occupy his hours, till a rather late supper, in that routine of endless and ever prescribed engagements that render the life of a Pope little else than a magnificent slavery. Among these engagements audiences, official or private, are not the least prominent or wearisome; and I have heard of his present Holiness having literally to spend the day, till 7 p. m, in one series of receptions! Most of the ecclesiastics enrolled in the Papal Court rank as Prelates; and this household is at present composed of the Cardinal Secretary of State, « Prefect of the Apostolic Palaces », a Major Domo, a *Maestro di Camera*, an Auditor, the « *Maestro* of the Sacred Palaces » (who is always a Dominican, and head of the censorship over the press), 10 private Chamberlains (inclu-

ding the Almoner, the Secretaries of Briefs to Princes, of Latin letters, and of Embassy) 402 Private supernumerary Chamberlains (all, like the former, of prelatic rank) Prelates assistant at the throne, 4 Private Chamberlains (laics) called « *di spada e cappa* » from their Spanish costume of black velvet with sword and mantle, and from 300 to 400 other officials, including ecclesiastical and lay Chamberlains (the former all ranking as Prelates, the latter distinguished by the same black velvet costume) supernumerary Chaplains, Clerics and Adjutants of *Camera*, Pages, an Architect, a chief Physician, and (always conspicuous beside the Papal chair on great solemnities) a Prince assistant at the throne — two scions of the most ancient Roman nobility, an Orsini and a Colonna, having, within late years, occupied this post simultaneously. The Prelatic Courtiers most in attendance on the Pope are the four Participant Private Chamberlains; and when a distinguished English ecclesiastic, Monsignor Talbot, was nominated to one of these posts by Pius IX, the Vatican, for the first time since the Reformation, admitted a representative of Great Britain among its resident officials. The term *Prelate*, it may be observed, is in Rome, and here only, taken in a conventional sense not implying the episcopal, but a dignity conferred by the Pope in the career, though not necessarily attached to the character of priesthood, some Prelates remaining laics, others in different gradations of holy Orders. Besides these is a long list of domestic Prelates attached to, though not resident in the Court — or necessarily in Rome — ecclesiastical Chamberlains and honorary Chaplains « extra urbem. » The Pope exercises his sovereign power with the assistance of Ministers named at his pleasure, and of the Cardinals, either in special and permanent Congregations, or, for affairs of highest importance, assembled in private Consistory. For many years the administration of the two principal branches of public affairs has been confided to a Cardinal Secretary, the political representative and

organ of the Pontiff with foreign Courts, as well as with his own subjects; and to the Cardinal *Camerlingo* — the former holding office at pleasure of the Sovereign, the latter for life. But an important modification was introduced into this system, among the reforms carried out in the early years of his pontificate by Pius IX. A Council of Ministers was created by *motu proprio* (June 1847) which shortly afterwards received its form as retained to the present day, divided into 8 ministries — Foreign affairs, Interior, Public Instruction, Grace and Justice, Finances, Commerce, Fine Arts, Industry and Agriculture, Public Works, Arms. These branches of administration are now entrusted to only five Ministers, including the Cardinal Secretary, President of the so called Council, at whose deliberations sometimes the Sovereign presides in person. On the Cardinal Secretary depend the Pontific Nuncios and Consuls in foreign States. Each of these Ministers, within the limits of his attributions, proposes to the Sovereign, as judgment directs, new laws or regulations, as well as the modifications suitable and the interpretations to be sanctioned for laws existing. Such projects are examined by the aggregate in Council, to be afterwards referred to the Council of State, which must pronounce its judgment in regard to each proposal of this description. All, however, that pertains to financial affairs belongs to the deliberations of the « Consulta » for Finances, which alone can take cognisance or pronounce upon interests of this class. Nominations, promotions, and deprivations of public officials, are treated of in the Council of Ministers. That called *Consiglio di Stato*, instituted by Motu proprio, 1850, is composed of nine ordinary and six extraordinary Councilors, presided by the Cardinal State Secretary, or a Prelate representing him. At present all these ordinary Councilors, one excepted, and all the subordinate *employés* are laics. The affairs treated of in this Council of State are divided into two classes — governative or purely admini-

strative, and administrative qualified as contentious (*contenzioso*), for the first of which the full Council assembles once a week, and for the second, but only in partial sessions, twice in the week. To the first class, styled affairs of *maggiore entità*, pertain projects for new laws, judiciary and administrative systems, the authentic interpretation of Sovereign laws or ordinances, the questions of competence between different Ministries, the examination of Municipal ordinances to be submitted to the sovereign sanction, the approbation of the acts of provincial Councils in the part reserved for the Sovereign to approve, and, finally, all affairs immediately referred by the Pontiff to the examination of the Council, all whose deliberations are merely consultative, without any legislative authority, so that it eventually belongs to the Soverign, after listening to the opinions of his Ministerial Cabinet, to decide on his own authority and judgment, thus being reserved to the Papacy a character purely autocratic. The Cardinal Secretary of State now unites to his other offices the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and the other Ministers, though at present all Prelates, may be either ecclesiastics or laymen at the pleasure of the Sovereign. The absortion of power and emolument in a single class — the sacerdotal — has been much objected to in this Government; but the best, because a simply statistic answer, was made by a publication put forth at Naples, precisely at the period when such charges were being most violently urged against the Holy See, in 1847 — «Statistic Report of all the Offices and Employments under the Holy See» — a volume shewing the numbers employed and salaries received in all departments of this government, up to the Ist January 1848. The aggregate engaged in the administration, at that period, was 5059 laymen and 243 ecclesiastics, including 134 chaplains attached, for simply spiritual duties, to prisons or other penal establishments, as in the following table, presenting the exact balance between secular and ecclesiastical services.—

	Ecclesiastics		Salary	Laics		Salary
Foreign affairs. .	17	*Scudi*	68,486	30	*Scudi*	11,468
Interior	156	—	52,123	1,411	—	254,160
Public Instruction.	3	—	1,140	11	—	3,444
Grace and Justice.	59	—	56,341	926	—	246,074
Finances	3	—	5,680	2,017	—	514,172
Commerce. . . .	1	—	2,000	61	—	13,136
Public Works . .	2	—	426	100	—	34,515
Arms	—	—	——	98	—	34,151
Police	2	—	4,119	404	—	75,072

Thus were the services of 243 ecclesiastics remunerated by 180,316, and those of 5,059 laymen by 1,186,194 scudi annually. And besides the Congregations and Tribunals essentially ecclesiastical in character, are shewn to have afforded employment, at the same time, to many laymen, with a fair proportion of salary on their side, in the following table:

Ecclesiastical Tribunals and Congregations

	Ecclesiastics	Salary	Laics	Salary
Inquisition	12	*S.* 3,948	6	894
Visita Apostolica	7	1,176	7	712
Concistorial and Secretary of S. College	3	563	3	468
Bishops and Regulars	13	992	2	180
Council.	8	2,540	2	216
Ecclesiastical Immunities . .	4	456	2	486
Propaganda and Camera degli Spogli	40	5,733	68	8,382
Sacred Rites.	8	660	—	——
Regular Discipline	5	516	—	——
Indulgences and Relics . . .	7	384	—	——
Rev. Fab. di S. Pietro . . .	3	1,480	87	13,003

Apostolic Penitentiary . . .	26	6,977	2	103
Apostolic Chancery	4	1,110	60	9,687
Secretariship of Briefs . . .	5	5,580	13	5,976
Secret. of extraord. Eccles. Affairs	4	1,561	—	—
Apostolic Dateria	9	1,719	55	20,984
Commissariate of the S. Casa di Loréto	3	224	9	849

Total, 461 ecclesiastices employed in these Tribunals, remunerated by 36,120 scudi, and 316 laymen receiving 61,836 scudi. The department of Customs, Stamps and Registers, Post, Lottery, Mint, Administration of Cameral Property and Public Debt were, and are, filled exclusively by laymen; that of Census, at the period considered, by one ecclesiastic to 198 laymen; the University Professorships, open alike to lay and ecclesiastic candidates, and the administration of farmed taxes (exclusively laic) were not contemplated in these tables.

In 1856 again were these political statistics made known, when it appeared that the entire administration was carried on by 303 ecclesiasties and 6,854 laics, with equally impartial apportionment of salaries:

Secretariate of State: . . .	14	ecclesiastics,	18	laics
Interior, Grace, Justice and Police	278	»	3,271	»
Public Instruetion.	3	»	9	»
Commerce, Public Works, ec .	1	»	347	»
Finances	7	»	3,084	»
Arms	—	»	125	»

the ecclesiastic officials receiving L 24,755, the laic 1,499, 747 scudi per annum. Among the 14 of the former class reckoned under the heading «Secretariate,» are included ele-

ven Nuncios, or Ambassadors of the Holy See abroad, with the total salary of S. 96,000; and among the ecclesiasties under « Grace and Justice, » 179 chaplains attached to prisons and houses of correction. The salaries of the chief Ministers, reckoned in English money, are as follows: Cardinal State Secretary, L. 282, Minister of Interior L. 214; of Finance L. 888, of Commerce L. 444, of Police L. 874, of Arms L. 400, of Grace and Justice L. 222; Cardinal Vicar L. 466, Cardinal Secretary of Briefs, L. 494, Cardinal Penitentiary L. 440, Cardinal President of Rome and Comarca, L. 266; President of the Consulta L. 400, of the S. Rota, L. 266 — (v. Maguire's « Rome and its Ruler ») Valuable as these statistics may be, it must be observed, they convey no proof that the [redacted]ing principle, the *animus* of this system is not exclus[redacted]esiastical; and since we have seen the Ministry of Arm[redacted]ed for a long time into the other offices held by a Cardinal, we cannot wonder that the vast monopoly of power permitted, during the last ten years, to his Eminence the Secretary of State, should have drawn great unpopularity not only on the head of that Minister, but on the Government itself.

The Civil List, including all expenses of the Papal Court and Government, was for the first time rendered public in the Constitution so liberally granted by Pius IX. (but so unfortunate in its results) promulgated on the 14th March, 1848. Its charter (called « Fundamental Statute ») contained the following clause: — « The sums required for the expenses of the Supreme Pontiff, the Sacred College of Cardinals, the Ecclesiastical Congregations, the Congregation of « Propaganda Fide », the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Diplomatic Body abroad, the Palatine Pontific Guards, the sacred Functions, the maintenance and care of the Apostolic Palaces with their dependencies, outbuildings, Museums and Library, the pay, allowances and pensions of all those attached to the Pontific

Court, are fixed at the yearly charge of 600,000 Scudi. » The principle of representative gobvernment was admitted to a degree by Pius IX in the Council of State, created by *motu proprio* (and afterwards modified into the form under which it still exists) in 1847. This body, under a Cardinal President and a Prelate as Vicc-president, was originally composed of 24 Councilors, 4 for the representation of Rome and the Comarca, 2 for Bologna, and one for each of the other provinces. Its principal office was defined as the discussion of government affairs, and laws to be enacted, or the reform of those existing; but its deliberations were even then allowed merely a consultative, without the legislative character. The election of the President and vice-president was by Sovereingn decision, as also that of the Councilors, but made on a triple list of candidates transmitted by the Provincial Councils from the class of landed proprietors, or others possessing incomes not less than 1000 Scudi, advocates, men of science, merchants, or proprietors of industrial establishments. The period of office was determined, in the first instance, for two years, and, subsequently, every five years a fifth part of the Councilors were to retire, as decided by lot, and be replaced. The inauguration of this, the more liberally instituted Council, took place on the 15th November 1847, when an address was made by the Pontiff to the 24 Deputies, on occasion of their being admitted to do homage before proceeding to the Vatican, of remarkable import. On reaching the throne-room where Cardinal Antonelli (the new President), the vice-president and deputies, were awaiting him, his Holiness, after listening to a speech from the Cardinal, and thanking all for their zeal in the public service, proceeded to say: — « He had done all in his power for the welfare of his people, and was disposed, with the divine assistance, to do every thing requisite in the future, but without abating, by one iota, from the Sovereignty of the Pontificate: full and entire, such as he had

received it from God and his predecessors, so was he bound to remit the sacred deposit to those who should succeed him. Three millions of subjects were witness — all Europe was witness how much he had done to bring himself into closer relation with his people, and unite them more immediately to him, that he might fully apprehend, and provide for their wants. To this end, more especially, he had assembled them into a permanent *Consulta*, in order to hear their opinions, and profit by their advice in his sovereign deliberations, whilst consulting his own conscience, and conferring with his Ministers and the Sacred College. If any one believed their office other than this — if any one saw in the *Consulta di Stato* some Utopia of his own — some germ of an institution incompatible with the Pontific sovereignty — that person greatly deceived himself. These observations had no reference to them (the Deputies) whose social education, religious and civil integrity, were already known to him; neither had they reference to the great mass of his subjects, of whose fidelity and obedience he was well assured; but there were unfortunately some, few in number indeed, who, having nothiug to lose, loved turbulence and sedition, turning to ill use even concessions of liberality — to these were his words directed, and such would well understand their significance. He himself, in the cooperation of the honourable Deputies, saw simply the firm support of persons who, laying aside all private interests, would concur with him, by their counsels, in farthering the public good, nor be deterred, by the idle prate of the senseless and turbulent, from assisting him with their wisdom in whatever was most expedient for the security of the Throne, and the true happiness of his subjects. » — After the revolution of the ensuing year, the Council of State was remodelled so as to be reduced to the mere character of a Financial Commission, now known as the *Consulta di Stato per le Finanze*, but still admitting the representation of the Metro-

polis and Provinces, elected on the same principles as formerly, and deliberating, in annual sessions, within the sphere of affairs implied by its title. Its President is a Cardinal, and all, except 4 members representing the Camera, are laymen. The Pontiff issues his commands in *Motu proprii*, Rescripts, *Chirografi* (autographic documents), or edicts signed by Ministers, all equally having the force of law. In the private Consistory he communicates his desires and decisions, as well as creations of new Cardinals, to the Sacred College, in Latin allocutions, which are usually drawn up in substance by himself and translated by a secretary into the Latin, in which tongue, with an Italian version following, they are for the most part published by the official gazette. Public Consistories follow those that are private, whenever the intention is to bestow a Cardinal's hat. During the vacancy of the throne supreme power is vested in the Cardinal Camerlingo; in conjuction with three other Cardinals, chosen from the rank, in their College, of Bishops, Priests and Deacons; these to hold office for only three days, yielding to three others similarly chosen. The former Cardinal takes his title from the *Camera Apostolica* — « camera » in this sense implying all that pertains immediately to the Sovereign, his rights, dominion and treasury. The office of the Camerlingate succeeded, in the Papal Court, to that of « Vice Domino » (a species of Major-domo) at some period in the XI. century. The Cardinal Camerlingo, nominated by the Pope in Consistory, is invested with many prerogatives: to him are taken the oaths of office and fealty by the Senator of Rome, the Delegates and Governors of provinces, newly created Princes, Marquises, and Counts, the Auditor and Treasurer General, the Auditors of Rota, the Advocate of the Poor, the Fiscal Advocate and Procurer General. By him, or with his authority alone, can be conferred the laurel, or degree of doctorate, in the Roman Universities. As soon as the Sovereign has expi-

red he takes formal possession of the Papal Palace, and presently enters the chamber of death to make official recognisance of the body: three times striking the forehead, he calls the deceased by name; then declares that he is no more, after which the « ring of the fisherman » (worn by every Pape with his name chiselled on it) is consigned to the Camerlingo, to be broken by a master of ceremonies at the first general Congregation of Cardinals held after the Pontiff's decease. From this moment till the election the Cardinal Camerlingo is always attended by a guard, who do duty at his Palace; and his chariot, when passing through the city at night, is surrounded by torch bearers. During the interregnum he has the right of coining money with his own crest, together with the device of his office, the crossed keys under a canopy; and within this period he dispenses 1000 scudi in alms, besides other customary largesses, through the Prelate Almoner of the Court. After nine days appropriated to funereal rites and other public duties, the Cardinals assemble in Conclave, rigorously debarred from all intercourse with the outer world, till the election be decided. The expenses of the Papal funeral amount to about 20,000 Scudi: those of the Conclave to about 70,000; those of the Coronation to about 35,000 scudi. The Sovereigns of Austria, France and Spain have the right of a *veto* in the Papal election, pronounced by a Cardinal in their interest, but which can only be exercised once, against one individual by each, and is of no avail if arriving after the decision. (It is believed that the *veto* of Austria against Cardinal Mastai was entrusted to Cardinal Gaysruck, Archbishop of Milan, who arrived too late, after the election of 1846. The Romans — always ready with the satire and pasquinade — dedicated the first engraving of the new Pontiff to the German Archbishop.) When the election is accomplished the Cardinal Camerlingo places the *Anulus piscatoris* on the hand of the new Pon-

tiff, who then consigns it to a master of ceremonies for the name assumed by him to be engraved; and after his first solemn benediction, the keys of the Papal apartments are consigned to the Pontiff by the same Cardinal.

The *Camera Apostolica*, presided over by the Cardinal Camerlingo, is an administrative and judicial tribunal composed of 14 Prelates, a Treasurer General, and Auditor General, the Advocate of the Poor, and other officials, having power to decide in questions between the State and farmers general, and in all that relates to fiscal interests. Its attributes have been much modified, and many of its charges transferred, since the formation of the present ministerial Cabinet. Prior to that arrangement, not only this, but all other administrations in Rome were conducted by aggregate bodies, except that of Post, held (as at the present day) by a layman of noble rank, dependant on the Treasurer General. The high sounding title of *Roman Senator* is now borne by one individual only, and without even the shadow of the authority once attached to it, his office being in fact a species of Majoralty, confined chiefly to the presiding over public spectacles and markets, with some limited judicial power in whose exercise he is assisted by Conservators (formerly not more than three) chosen from the aristocratic class. This municipal body was completely reorganised by Pius IX in 1847, when the jurisdiction previously in force was abolished. According to the new system the City, with its territory, is represented, like other towns, by a Deliberative Council, and Executive Magistracy: the Council composed of 100 citizens of approved character, 64 of whom must be men of property in land or capital, the rest possessed of incomes varying between 600 and 200 scudi per annum, chosen from among the *employés* of public offices, the professors of colleges, merchants, bankers, the exercisers of liberal arts etc.; four to be nominated by the

Cardinal Vicar, as representatives of ecclesiastical bodies, colleges, and charitable institutions. The Magistracy is now com posed of a Senator and 8 Conservators. It is apparent that this Institution, though identical in form, has ceased to be the same in character since the restoration of 49, principally owing to the fact that it is deprived of independant right to the whole taxation of provisions entering Rome, as formerly attributed to it, and now entitled only to the revenue of S. 250,000 per annum for all public expenses — far less than the tax on provisions and ground corn of which it once disposed. The renewal of both Councilors and Magistrates must be partially effected every two, and entirely every six years, the nomination of the former, in the first instance, to proceed from the Sovereign, but subsequently out of their own body; that of the latter decided by the Sovereign out of three nominees recommended. This institution has close analogy with the body of statutes collected in 1580, which first gave to the City a Municipal Constitution; but it concedes more to the representative principle, as in that ancient Code no discussion was allowed to the popular assemblies, and the initiative belonged exclusively to the Magistrates. Those assemblies called the Common and Private Councils had rapidly disappeared, and all had finally vanished except the titles of Senator and Conservatori, the actual duties attaching to which were discharged by the Governor, always a Prelate. A *Motu Proprio* of Pius VII, in 1816, retained the French division of the states into communes, as well as the electoral colleges, each commune possessing a Council and Magistracy, chosen out of the same classes, and nearly on the same principle, as according to the edict of Pius IX; but that institution had been suppressed by Leo XII, and only partially revived by Gregory XVI. in an act which, though it reestablished Congregations of Government and Communal Co-

uncils in the Provinces, narrowed greatly the functions of the municipal bodies, and did not give to the people that share in the elections they had formerly possessed. Within the present century district tribunals of Police have been created in Rome, and each region of the City placed under a President, usually a person of noble birth, who has authority in criminal cases of minor importance. At present there are ten of these Regionary Presidents, each with jurisdiction over a district of the City, and an office distinguished by the armorial shield pertaining to it. These Presidents have succeeded to the duties of the ancient *Caporioni* (Heads of Regions) a body of Magistrates derived from the istitution of the Emperor Augustus, which, with singular tenacity to antique privileges, was preserved with the jurisdiction, and even the colours of dress originally distinguishing each, according to the imperial prescription, up to the present century, when (in 1816) it was reorganised by Pius VII, and the ancient Magistrates transformed into Regionary Presidents; but the Augustan division of the City into 14 Regions still continues. During the *sede vacante* (or interregnum) two of these Presidents, attended by the guard of the Capital, the urban militia, a notary and other civic officials, proceed, with banners flying and drums beating, to the prisons of the Capitol (now abolished) and those called *Carceri Nuove*, to liberate all incarcerated for minor offences.

In 1816 these States were devided into 6 Legations and 13 Delegations, the former placed under the government of Cardinals (whose authority is, in the fullest sense, vice-regal) the latter under Prelates. After the restoration of legitimate government under Pius IX, there were for some years no Cardinal Legates appointed, but the four Legations in the North continued, till recently, governed by a Commisary Extraordinary, a Prelate resident at Bologna, who

administered with the assistance of 4 *Consultori*, all laics, till the appointment of Cardinal Milesi as Legate at Bologna. Generally speaking, the most wealthy, fertile and best cultivated provinces of these States are included in the northern Legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Ravenna. The small district of Loreto is under a separate system of government, at whose head is a Commissary. Every Commune in the States has its electoral College, Communal Council, and Magistracy presided by a Mayor, the College composed of a number of individuals exceeding by six times that of the Councillors, the age of 25, residence within the district, the full enjoyment of civil rights, and irreprehensible conduct, political and religious, being qualifications requisite in all electors, the third of whom must be chosen from principal proprietors, the remaining from traders and professors of liberal arts. The Communal Council is elected every three years by this College, in one half of its members, who may be chosen either from the electing body itself or other residents within the district possessing from 1000 to 1509 scudi of stable property. The Communal Magistracy is composed of Councilors, and definitivly elected by the Delegate of the Province on the list of 3 names (*terne*) presented by the same Council. The head of this Magistracy is chosen by the Sovereign on the list of three presented by the Council. The attributions of the electoral college are confined to the sole task of electing Councilors; the function of the Council is to deliberate secretly and with votes by ballot on all the interests of the Commune; those of the Magistracy comprise the administering of local revenues, the enforcement of regulations passed by the Council, the adjudication, in first instance, of contraventions against urban and rural police. These Governors unite to the administrative power and that of police, a judicial authority, having the public force entirely at their command. The

former Department of Rome was divided by Pius IX into 4 Delegations, comprising 8 district governments, of which Tivoli and Subiaco became dependant on the Metropolis. In 1847 was created the office of President of Rome and the Comarca, conferred on a Cardinal, by extension of the powers formerly attached to the simple presidentship over the Comarca alone, and, about the same time, Pius IX chose a Senator (Prince Corsini) out of the triple list of candidates nominated, according to the new municipal forms, by the Council of a hundred. The extension of privileges to municipal communes has long been a principle liberally carried out, in most instances, by the Popes, and its results have secured to provincial towns of their States a larger share in the advantages of self-government than is allowed in almost any other country of Europe. Ranke observes that, when Julius II. drove the tyrannic and turbulent Baglione family from Perugia, « he did not refuse to recall the exiles, or to reinstate the peaceful magistrates, the *Priori*; he conferred increased emoluments on the Professors of the University, and invaded no one of the ancient immunities of the city. » — « Even under Clement VII. (adds that historian) I find a calculation how many troops Perugia could bring into the field, precisely as though it had been a completely free municipality; nor was Bologna more closely restricted » — A perfect municipal *régime* is extended indeed over all towns and villages of these States. In the larger cities affairs are directed by a Council of 40, in the secondary by one of 36; in the larger villages by 24, in those of population under 1000, by 18 Councilors. These bodies deliberate on local affairs, decide by vote in questions of expenditure, and revise the public accounts. They are dependant on a *Gonfaloniere* (or Mayor) assisted by 6 « Elders, » the Magistracy, who are all named by the Delegate on a triple list of candidates as above noticed. The Gonfaloniere administers the commu-

nal government under the authority of a higher Magistrate from whom he receives orders, with the title of Governor. The functions of the former are gratuitously exercised, though certain prerogatives and immunities are attached to his office.— In regard to the administration of justice, the system proper to these States is founded on the Roman Law wherever it is ved reconcileable with the Canon Law, modified by three other Codes actually in force, the Commercial, Civil, and Criminal, of these the first being borrowed from the French, the two latter modelled on the same norma as those of most European nations. The criminal Code has recently been revised by the Council of State, and is, as well as the Civil, still undergoing a process of modifications under new revisal. Three grades of jurisdiction are conceded to ordinary civil causes; from all sentences passed in first instance is allowed appeal to three Tribunals, one at Rome, one at Bologna, one at Macerata, all composed of laics, excepting the President and Vice-president of that at Rome. Every inappellable sentence in civil causes may, within the term of three months, be annulled, by the supreme Tribunal of « Segnatura. » The proceedure in criminal causes is essentially the same, only that, instead of the Segnatura, stands the Tribunal of « Sacra Consulta. » The ordinary judgments for accusations of heinous crime are prononuced by a Tribunal in presence of the accused, and with confronting of witnesses, unless in case of offences committed « from party spirit, » namely, crimes of the political bearing, where the confronting of witnesses is omitted in « order not to expose the latter to the vengeance of political sects, and to secure greater probability of truthful depositions » — words used in an apology for this system in the *Civiltà Cattolica*; but under all circumstances the proceedings must be communicated to the counsel of the accused, who has full liberty to comunicate with his client, carry on the defence before the Tri-

bunal, demand examination of other witnesses. The Pontific army has been almost entirely reorganised since the revolution of 48. That force which is most conspicuous at the celebrations in St. Peter's, the Noble Guard, is considered to belong to the class of Courtiers, being the private body-guard of the Pontiff, who is always attended by them, in the antichamber, at state audiences and ceremonies, when he drives out, or attends religious services. Their duties, prior to 1798, were discharged by a company of light cavalry, formed in the XV. century. In 1800 Pius VII, shortly after his elevation, desiring that a Noble Guard should be organised to supply the place of that body dispersed under the French republican authority, several of the highest nobility subscribed an address to the Pontiff requesting him to accept of military service from them gratuitously. He consented, and the new Guard was formed of 62, all, except ordinaries, of noble birth, who were also surrogated to the office previously assigned to cabinet-couriers, of bearing announcement of promotion, with the searlet skull-cap, to new Cardinals in distant countries. In 1808, when the French were again occupying Rome, and the Pontiff almost a prisoner, those hostile troops assumed the Papal colours, red and yellow, affecting thus to imply the incorporation of the Roman with their own forces, in consequence of which Pius VII. bestowed, for distination, white and yellow cockades on his noble Guard — and hence these colours have become the device of the entire Papal army. The standard of the Noble Guard (white satin, with the Papal arms embroidered in gold) which was solemnly blessed by Pius VII, is still retained, and carried in the procession of Corpus Domini at St. Peter's. In 1824 Leo XII. issued a new regulation, according to which the company of Noble Guards is to this day systematised. Their full number is 76, under a Commandant and Lieutenant General (now the Princes Bar-

berini and Altieri.) None are admitted unless nobility of 60 years can be proved, and satisfactory attestations of character presented. The history of the last few years has little redounded to the honour of the army serving under the standard of the Tiara and Keys; rather must it be said that almost every occasion for distinguishing themselves by the heroism of loyalty, has been thrown away by the soldiers of the Pope, the hundred Swiss who defended the Quirinal Palace, on the 16th of November 48 excepted. The measures affecting military interests, since the restoration of Papal Government in Rome (1849) have been accused of undue severity; and it is possible that, as so frequently after great political convulsions, the innocent were, in some cases, confounded with the guilty. The principle adopted was, that all officers, superior and inferior, who had given their service to the revolutionary cause in a *conspicuous* manner, should be cashiered, and those whose conduct had been disloyal, with less aggravating circumstances, or suspected, either suspended for a period, or allowed to retire on half pay. A Commission of Censorship was formed, with a *personnel* including all military superiors who had preserved unimpeachable loyalty during the revolutionary epoch, and according to the judgment of these censors some were not only cashiered, but exiled from the Roman States, others subjected to the first only of these penalties, others suspended, but not a few allowed to retire on pensions. The average force in these States, anterior to the vicissitudes of 48, was only 15,000, including 4,400 Swiss, two regiments of whom were raised in 1832; and the complement of the reintegrated army was proposed to be 16,000. The reorganised army now existing has rather exceeded this number, being little less than 17,000, the force most relied upon consisting of foreign Infantry, two regiments, and the Gendarmeria divided into three principal companies, for Rome, the Legations

and the Marches, forming the armed Police. In regard to those foreign regiments, in all about 4000, commonly styled the Swiss Pontific troops, it should be added that since their conduct is reestablishing Papal government ut Perugia (20th June '59) excited the reprobation of Europe, the Swiss Republic has put forth an official disclaimer to their assumed character as her subjects, declaring that the legal term has expired within which the capitulations, for enrolling troops for foreign service in the Cantons, have had force. Bavarians, Austrians, and others, in fact, about equally enter into the aggregate of those mercenary corps. The Swiss whose bizarre uniform of many colours, designed by Michelangiolo, is so conspicuous at Papal and other grand ceremonies, are a small force entirely distinct from the other foreign regiments, and attached exclusively to the Pontific Palaces.

Nothing has proved more defficult to the government restored in '49 than the organisation of a native army, the imperfect success of the efforts directed at which have shown the impossibility of inspiring zeal for a service that tends to become odious as a means for the suppression of revolt, or useless as a mere object of decoration. The Papal States, it has been shown, *might* bring into the field as many as 30,000, but so reluctant are the subjects to take the sword in their defense, that when, last Spring, it was deemed necessary to raise the premium from 6 to 20 scudi, and abridge the engagements from 6 to 4 years, even these expedients proved of little avail, while desertions from the foreign regiments — in one instance 80 during a fortnight — have been so frequent that the authorities at last consented to leave these recruits, on the sole condition of refunding the premium before quitting, at liberty to desert.

The causes for discontent, and the degree to which it exists in the Papal States have, I believe, been exaggerated;

but it belongs to History that in the northern provinces, the Legations, revolution has been, during about the last eight- and twenty years, beginning from the violent movement convulsing Romagna during the Conclave that elected Gregory XVI, almost the normal condition. That revolution conveys not only the accusation, but the evidence against evils, social or political, that provoke it, is no longer contested by the moral sense or historic philosophy of our age. The storm can only arise in the troubled atmosphere; and political sbocks, however darkened by crime, most be accepted as coming from the omnipotent Hand that chastens. —

So Providence is served:

The forked lightning from its cloud may send
Illumination into deep, dark holds,
Which the mild sunbeam hath not power to reach.

In 1831 the five leading Powers interposed to recommend concessions to this Government. To their *Memorandum* was returned no definitive answer. But a diplomatic note from Prince Metternich informed the English Minister at Vienna, that the Holy See could not admit the principle of popular election into its administration, or such a body as a central Junta (proposed by the Powers) which was objected to as likely to clash with the prerogatives and raise conflict in the exercise of jurisdiction, with the College of Cardinals. The reforms suggested were: General admission of laics into administrative and judiciary offices; permanent Provincial Councils, on a basis of election, empowered to take part in the government of each province; a central Junta to be established at Rome, composed of the provincial Councilors. notabilities and aristocracy chosen by government, as a supreme Court over all branches of administration. « Vague and indefinite promises were made in answer to this Memorandum by Cardinal Bernetti, who, however, did not omit the assurance that the faithful and permanent observance of the laws should be

guarantied by suitable institutions — these words were vain » (Gualterio, *Ultimi Rivolgimenti Italiani* v. 1. cap. 8.) Most striking is the testimony against the Roman policy in the note of Mr Seymour, English Minister at Florence, to the French Ambassador at Rome, announcing his departure from that city after long and fruitless efforts to secure the objects desired, in the interest of the Papal States and of Europe, by the five Powers. « More than 14 months have now elapsed since the Memorandum was given in, and not one of the recommendations which it contains has been fully adopted and carried into effect by the Papal government » The disappointment, he proceeds, of the hopes excited by the interposition of the Powers, had only increased the disaffection of its subjects against that government; and his concluding words convey what now seems nothing less than prophetic in anticipation of the future: « The British Government foresees that if the present system is persevered in, fresh disturbances must be expected to take place in the Papal States, of a character progressively more and more serious, and that out of these disturbances may spring complications dangerous to the peace of Europe » — dated Rome, 7th September 1832, and given ut full by Gualterio. The Motu Proprio soon afterwards issued by Gregory XVI did indeed establish reforms in certain branches, but it did not leave to the people that share in the elections secured by a decree of the enlightened minister of Pius VII, Consalvi. In one of the subsequent *pronunciamentos* against Rome, at Bologna, 1845, a manifesto presented the demands of the leaders in that movement, that all offices, civil, military, and judicial, should be conferred on laymen, that a supreme Council should be chosen from popular representatives, and a Civic Guard organised. Not long afterwards a well-known publication by Massimo d' Azeglio which aroused attention by its eloquence in the denouncing of abuses,

conveyed counsels that might be reduced to the following summary — the right of petition and public audience of the Sovereign to be generally accorded; special Commissions for the punishment of political offences, and the system of *espionnage* abolished; the mercenary army dismissed, and a native one formed; the system of education to be remodelled; the financial system and that of Customs reformed; the lottery suppresed; an improved code adopted; expression of opinion tolerated; all offices in the state open to laymen; the connection with Austria dissolved, or modified. The Constitution of Pius IX granted more than had ever been desired or expected of the Pontificate before that eventful year '48; but its rapid destruction, and total failure, during brief and feverish existence, is a story sufficiently known.

That discontent prevails at Rome against all authorities, political, municipal and religious, is apparent to the most superficial observer; and, allowing for exaggerations or causeless ill humors, the constant expression of that feeling must be admitted to represent a moral fact, though few may be qualified fully to account for its origin or intensity. Those who live under a government must, generally speaking, be better able to appreciate it than theorisers from a distance. Most severely has the judicial system of this country been criticised, both at home and abroad; and one of its aspects, too prominent at Rome, cannot be defended, in the arbitrary principle, manifest in such abuses as arrests on mere suspicion, indefinite delay of trials, prolonged imprisonments before sentence or even investigation has ensued! Insulting to the very sense of humanity, these practises can only create mistrust and bitterness between the governed and the governing. In each of the 67 dioceses into which these states are divided is an episcopal tribunal composed of a single judge, tha Bishop's Vicar, who takes cognisance of civil and

criminal cases, whatever their importance, when the persons or property of priests, religious associations or charitable institutions are in question. The tribunals of Rome are numerous beyond example, without reckoning those of first instance and appeal. That of the Cardinal Vicar attempts a species of adjudication in moral causes, and right to interpose for the interests of morality in private life, such as no other tribunal of Europe now undertakes; however excellent those intentions, it may be imagined how difficult and odious must be the practice. Yet an impartial witness, Farini, reports the proportion of laymen to ecclesiastics — 5,000 of the former to 300 of the latter — for the tribunals of the whole country, showing their procedure not to be absolutely in the hands of the Clergy; and it was one of the sagacious improvements of Leo XII to raise the salary of judges from only 72 to 480 pounds sterling, in order to exempt them from the dangers and remove the excuses of bribery.

Not long since an officer of the Roman Police mentioned to me a complicated *processo* for brigandage in the vicinity of the capital, begun, as far as concerned the arrests of from 50 to 60 imprisoned under suspicion of being connected with an organised band of robbers, five years previously, yet which had not hitherto resulted either in trial or sentence for one of those accused! Not much can be said on behalf of such an irritating system as the *precettati*, or rather that to which are victims the persons so styled, placed under regular *surveillance* of police, forbidden to frequent certain cafés or public places, obliged to be with in doors at certain hours, and subjected to other restraints that may be imposed on the innocent not less severely than on the guilty. The obstacles created against travelling, particularly against leaving the great towns, are another feature in this system that would be simply ridiculous if not seriously oppressive: thus the married man cannot leave

Rome without permission of his wife, the son without that of his parents, and none, even the stranger, after a year's residence, without that of the parish priest and magistrate of the rione, or district, where he has resided! I have known an intelligent and respectable young artist, who had made his arrangements, at some expense, for a journey to Florence, to execute commissions of importance to his interests, yet was obliged, after long and wearisome efforts, to abandon the project of leaving the city thus rendered a prison to him, being refused permission by the police on some mysterious grounds of objection which, they intimated, *might* have rested on anonymous denunciation! In fact when abuses can never be exposed publicly, or insolence of office reclaimed against, where is the security that the best and most elightened intentions or principles may not be thwarted in the practical part of government? Pius IX, during his late progress through his states, rendered a continual triumph by the ovations prepared, left for the poor at Spoleto 1000 scudi — we are assured that, for eight days, there was a distribution of small loaves of bread to the indigent thus generously remembered, but, that paid for, the remainder of the sum found its way into other purses! And the same was the case at Tolentino, where 2000 were entrusted by his Holiness to a wealthy convent for purposes of charity, with similar result — A priest, the Abbé Michon, it may be observed, received the report on the spot, and was the first to publish it. In regard to censorship, irrespectively of that proceeding from high ecclesiastic authority, is another at Rome, the attempts to carry out which by the police are irritating, useless, and often childish in the means employed. Events, opinions, speeches bruited abroad by hundred — tongued journalism throughout Europe cannot, by these means, be witheld from ultimate publi-

city at Rome, but the discovery of the efforts made to do so excites ridicule, exposing authority to contempt.

That hostility against the temporal dominion of the Popes which has become, especially within the last 20 or 30 years, a settled conviction, not only among Italians, but in other lands, does not appear to have taken root in the mind of earlier ages. « The Pope (said an orator at the Council of Basle) without the patrimony of the Church would be merely the servant of kings and princes » ; and, referring to the same century (the XV) the able historian of the modern Popes, Ranke, observes that « their temporal sovereignty was in accordance with the temper and direction of the age. » E ven towards the chose of the XVI, after so many public calamities had desolated Italy, the same writer says that it was « matter of pride and rejoicing to the Pope, when Ambassadors arriving at his Court assured him that in every part of his States through which their road had led, they had travelled through a land blessed with peace and security. » — « We travelled (report the Venetian Ambassadors of a journey through these provinces in 1522) from Macerata to Tolentino through a district of surpassing loveliness. Hills and vallies were clothed with grain along an extent of 30 miles; nothing less rich sould be seen. Uncultiveted land we could not find for the breadth of a foot! We thought it impossible to gather so vast a quantity of corn; how, then, shall it be consumed? « In fact, the export of corn from these States, in 1587, reached the value of 500,000 scudi. Many of the provincial cities that have recently been among the first to renounce allegiance to the Pope, originally placed themselves under tha Holy See by voluntary submission, as Fano, which stipulated, among principal conditions, when thus subjecting herself in 1463, « that in all future time the city should hold immediately of the Papal throne. » (v. Ranke) That Protestant historian quotes the letters of Venetian

Ambassadors, in the middle of the XVII century, expressing opinions respecting the insufficiency of the Papal government for temporal interests, first distinctly worded in terms that have since become so current, especially among the subjects of his Holiness, and most emphatically within recent years. The present organisation of this government may be said, in a certain sense, to have originated not earlier then the latter half of the XVI century, subsequently to the downfal of the powerful Caraffa family and the death of their too indulgent relative, Paul IV (1559). Anterior to that period, power was exercised more immediately by the Popes themselves, or (owing to a prevalence of abuses and ambitious intrigues deeply injurious to the Holy See) by their relations and favorites. Thus was Gaesar Borgia, under the Pontificate of Alessander VI, absolutely master of these states, if not of the metropolis; Florentine favorites had the temporal affairs in their hands under Leo X and Clement VII; the Farnesi governed under Paul III; the Caraffas under Paul IV. After the expulsion of the latter family, justly punished for ambition and avarice, began the trasformation from autocratic Sovereignty iuto a system of clerical government, more defined, less likely to be abused by the incapacities or passions of an individual, but to which many writers ascribe all the evils of this government within modern times. Then rose into prominence the great dignitaries attached to the Tiara, the Vicar of Rome, the Grand Camerlingo, the Chief Penitentiary, the Vice Chancellor — always Cardinals; the Secretaries of State, or political Ministers (often simply Prelates, though for many years the chief, or Prime Minister, has always been a Cardinal) the Governor of Rome, the Treasurer General, Secretaries of Briefs, Latin Letters, and Memorials, the Officials of the Apostolic Camera, Procuratars, Commissaries, Judges, Clerical Colleges, and Sacred Congregations, directed by Cardinals, Prelates, and theologians, of which

15 were organised at once by Sixtus V, in 1587. The revenues of the States, which under Julius II were only 250,000 scudi, rapidly increased during the XVI century; being raised by the administration of Leo X to 420,000; by Clement VII to 500,000; by Paul III to 706,473; by Pius IV to 890,000; and in 1576, under Gregory XIII, reaching the amount of a million, not many years after which (between 1586-9) Sixtus V was enabled to deposit in the Castle of S. Angelo a treasure of about 5 millions. During this period the Camera Apostolica spent annually for the maintenance of the Court 290,000 scudi, for that of the Cardinals 100,000; and for the ecclesiastical diplomacy and garrisoned fortresses, 270,000.

The respect and authority enjoyed by the Papacy in earlier ages seem quite independant of the personal example set by its occupants on the throne; but when the piety and enthusiam of old had begun to decline, *then* did the private character of Popes begin to affect the interests of Catholicism itself in one sense; though even the least unworthy continued to receive, fron Princes and Powers, the outward honors due to their station, — thus a king of France acted as server to the Mass of Pope Alexander VI. As moral degeneration appeared, so did the influences of the Holy See, in those more recent ages, decline; and from the time when first

Au fond du Vatican régnoit la Politique,

till was witnessed the last extreme of the corrupt and worldly spirit that discredited the Papal Court in the epoch preceding the Reformation, this great ascendancy declined, till the star seemed almost fallen, that once had guided Europe to civilisation and heavenly Truth. Not that there was any loss of moral harmony between the Institution of the Papacy, as such, and the requirements of Christian society, but because the high vocation of the Tiara had been misapprehended, as worldly-minded Pontiffs followed a policy tending to

degrado to a thirdrate temporal power that which had been the first of moral supremacies. When that temporal power, a mere accessory in fact, became the main end and interest with ambitious Pontiffs; when to take part in European wars and great political transactions, to maintain regal pomp and luxury, to patronise arts and letters with ostentatious munificence, become among the objects that most occupied their thoughts, new necessities sprang up, to meet which was invented a system of venalty which, in one province at least, found both its last consequences and self-provoked chastisement in that sale of Indulgences, condemned by the highest authority, the Oecumenical Councils of the Church. Every office and charge at this Court was now bartered for; even before vacancy posts were set up for sale, and their reversion purchasable by the highest bidder. In 1470 the purchasable offices amounted to 650, yielding a total of 100,000 scudi in salaries. Sixtus IV reduced all charges at his Court to venality, creating entire colleges (as they were called) in order to sell the appointments for filling them: notaries, protonotaries, procurators of the Apostolic Camera, all obtained their posts for money under this Pontiff; till at last official phraseology became so exhausted that barbarous, even unchristian titles were adopted for the new posts created to fill the treasury of an insatiable Court. Thus, in one day, were nominated by Sixtus 100 *Janissaries*, whose appointments were sold, in the aggregate, for 100,000 ducats; and presently followed, among hybrid novelties, companies of *Stradiots* and *Mamelukes*, to swell the motley troop round the throne of a Christian High Priest! Innocent VIII founded at once a college of 26 secretaries for 60,000 ducats; Alexander VI nominated 80 scribes of briefs for 750 scudi per annum, and to that company Julius II added a hundred more for the same price. Leo X, in the course of one pontificate said to have consumed reve-

nues sufficient for three, created 1200 offices for 190,000 scudi. Under Paul IV the venal posts amounted altogether to 3,500; but, not content with this, Sixtus V both raised the tariff for place-hunters and rendered venal posts hitherto excepted. Pius V sold the important office of Camerlingo to one Cardinal for 50,000 scudi, after having first sold it to another for 80,000. At last this system reached the excess that brought its own remedy, and towards the end of the XVII century, it was totally abolished, through the exertions and sacrifices of Innocent XII, who, with noble disinterestedness, returned the entire amount of purchase money received from those holding appointments (Muratori, anno 1693.) It was within the same period that another abuse, Nepotism, was carried to that excess which, as with the evil above mentioned, at last brought about the reaction that cured. One need only notice, out of many examples, the revenue of 100,000. scudi bestowed on his nephew Montalto, by Sixtus V, the million in ready money given to the Aldobrandini, by Clement VIII; the 200,000, of ecclesiastical revenues absorbed by Cardinal Ludovisi under his uncle, Gregory XV; the 500,000 per annum added to the boundless wealth of the Barberini by Urban VIII, which last Pontiff, moved at one time by scruples, consulted a body of theologians on the delicate question, how much he might conscientiously bestow, out of the revenues of the state, for the benefit of his family? and received the answer, in a style of gravity peculiarly *naive*, that he might with good conscience create for their interest a majorat of 80,000 per annum, and assign to the ladies a total of 180,000 in doweries! The example was alike instructive and revolting, when the dying Pope Innocent X was visited by his sister-in-law, the famous Donna Olimpia, in the sole object, on her part, of removing the coffers filled with gold that lay deposited under his bed — all to be appropriated to herself by the woman who refused to pay the

charges of his funeral, when there was *none* other, among the train of courtiers and officials, ready to incur any expense for rendering honor to his poor remains! (1) It would be vain and most unjust to dwell on such exemples as illustrating any character inherent in the Papal Court, which, whatever it may once have been, has for many years offered the picture of every virtue that could adorn a throne, and an almost monastic regularity in the lives of those surrounding it. The days are past when the *Calandra* of Bibbiena, and the *Mandragola* of Machiavelli could be acted in the apartments of the Vatican. Venality is no longer possible in the high offices connected with Church or State; and, in regard to nepotism, though a Pontiff otherwise great and admirable, Pius VI, yielded to that weakness in recent times, we may cite the example of virtue that has gone to the opposite extreme in Pius IX, who has not allowed his nearest relatives to reside in Rome, and who has appropriated the entire amount of the offerings poured at his feet from every part of the Catholic world, during his exile at Gaeta, to works of charity or public institutions.

When that Pontiff fled from the city and people on whom he had hitherto conferred only benefits, and whose government he had reformed with a degree of liberality unapproached by any in the long line of his predecessors, the sympathies of all Christendom were with him; Catholicism itself seemed glorified anew in the person of her exiled Chief —

Quaritur indignae sedes longinqua ruinae.

There can be no justification for the revolt which was the proximate cause of that flight, and but little for the violently imposed ministry which owed its existence to assassination; but the siege and occupation of Rome that followed, still more, the invasion of the provinces by that

(1) Cancellieri, *Piazza Navona.*

Power holding the inheritance of hatred in Italy, has resulted in profound estrangement and ever increasing alienation between the subjects and government of the Holy See. The position to which the Papacy had been raised in the first years of Pius IX was the most magnificent, and consentaneous with its high calling as understood by the noblest minded of his predecessors, who deemed it their honor to « act towards kings as a father towards his children, recalling them by prayers, admonitions, or menaces to the sentiment of their duty and their dignity; to be, *above all*, the protector of the oppressed, to watch over the conduct of the great and wealthy, and prevent their supposing, in their pride, that thay are above every law, superior to all authority; to make every effort for protecting the unfortunate against the avarice of the powerful, *the people against arbitrary and despotic dominion* » (1). The Papacy cannot make common cause with despotism, the consecrated Advocacy of holiest rights cannot desert the people to side with the oppressor, unless by a dereliction from its vocation compromising to that degree that its worst enemies could deire nothing more fatal to its interests. The name of that Pius which was blessed by all nations when associated with peace, and pardon, and liberty, should never have been permitted to appear on the historic page in alliance with the opposite. On the other hand — and, however painful, the truth must be told — the means taken to restore, and the policy followed out to sustain his throne in recent years, have redounded with injury not only to the principle of loyalty, but that of religion, in the minds of his subjects, to an extent that only long residence among them can enable to appreciate. The embittered feeling against Rome, enhanced, no doubt, by the reaction of disappointment, after the hopes and enthu-

(1) Hurter, Innocent III.

siasm of other years, now expresses itself in every form, in almost every announcement of the Italian mind, where at liberty to declare itself; it pervades the literature of the last years, the political pamphlet, the daily journal, the local history, has insinuated itself into the romance, and been declaimed on the stage; its most indignant expression has proceeded from writers of the highest standing [and well known antecedents, as may be perceived in the last work of Gioberti, and the eloquent protests of Tommaseo (1). But the impulses of clemency and justice can never abandon tho mind of the Pontiff who inaugurated his reign by the enthusiastically applauded amnisty, and gave his people a constitution liberal almost as that of England or France. After the restoration of 49 another amnesty was accorded by Pius, from which were excepted, in all, not more than 283 persons, the members of the provisional government, of the Constituent Assembly, and officers of the troops that used arms against the legitimate cause overcome by the revolt preceding; among the condemned were many strangers, so that not more then 262 were the Pontific subjects excluded from that act of grace; out of this number 36, members of the Constituent, and 24 military chiefs have since been allowed to return from exile, into which those who went volontarily from these States numbered 1237, only 664 of whom, compromised in the events preceding, were natives or subjects. At Rome has been published the report (contradictory to statements elsewhere made) that those imprisoned for purely political offences, in the early part of the present year, were not more than 62, while 186 others were then in confinement for crimes committed from political motives (*spirito di parte*) such as would be punished with like severity by every government (*La Quistione Italiana nel* 1859). Since that restoration,

(1) *Rome et le Monde*, Turin 1851.

the administration at Rome (without admitting the worst accusations now made against it) cannot be said to have produced those fruits that must be dearest to the wise and benevolent ruler — honor, love, obedience cheerfully rendered; rather has it placed itself in a perpetual antagonism to national desires, and opinions that must eventually triumph, because entertained by educated mind, thought, intelligence. Ten years of legislation intended for the triumph over revolution, have given results, in the moral order, not of victory, but defeat; and it has been proved that neither can cannon destroy ideas, nor police and spies eradicate opinions. Rather than dwelling on my own experiences, I prefer quoting the words of Italy's first modern Historian, whose character, literary and social, places him beyond all imputations of partisanship. Describing the state of Rome since 1850, he says: « After long expectation, the Pope returned, but without popular enthusiasms, finding the country in ruin, bands of robbers audacious, every obedience forgotten, political assassinations frequently recurring, the absurdities of compromising miracles confronted with the irritation of ever pullulating insurrections, the spiritual authority involved in the abhorence against the temporal, and for these most grievous wounds the customary palliatives no longer possible — the thing necessary force, and only force! Reform, revolution, anarchy, reaction on all sides, since, after the delirium of the people, had come the delirium of the princes, without desire or without aptitude for reconciling subordination with liberty, order with progress, and appearing to ignore the truth that they can always govern who associate themselves with the interests, ideas, and sentiments of the people, from the excess of exigences drawing pretext for denying even the just, even the promised » (2). Such events and such policy have, it is

(1) Cantù, *Storia di Cento Anni*, v, III, p. 564.

too much to be feared, weakened the foundations of the throne whose ancient strength consisted in the moral nature of its basis, the voluntary principle of its supports. In many minds, und almost universally in this country, the idea now obtains that the highest credit of the Papacy can only be restored by separation from the temporal sovereignty, or at least such modification of that sovereignty as to reduce it simply to a garantee for independance political and financial. It is but lately that a Catholic priest, of liberal sentiments and superior intelligence, expressed similar views, remarkable in one of his sacred calling, when giving the results of his very observant travels and studies among different states of Italy:

« Pour nous, Catholiques, il n'y a pas un moment d'hésitation possible, dans l'hypothese d'une lotte malheureuse ou toujours la religion auroit à souffrir, à-desirer que la sainte magistrature de l'Église reprenne son éclat, son independance, sa force, par le délaissement définitif des attributions de César. » (1).

(1) Michon, *L'Italie politique et religieuse*. Brussels.

ECCLESIASTICAL CONGREGATIONS

For many centuries have the wisdom, learning and energies of the Church of Rome been engaged in maturing and carrying into effect a system for spiritual government, and direction of ecclesiastical affairs, not only in these States but the whole Catholic world, whose agency has only been known, generally speaking, through its results, and whose administration, silent, profound, comprehensive and incessantly active, is little understood out of circles peculiarly informed or interested; within *that* sphere the glance of idle curiosity has not penetrated, the demand for publicity has not obtained, nor easily can obtain concessions, save to such degree as accords with the intentions of authority; and those operations the all-revealing press of the XIX. century has yet been powerless to interfere with. Ecclesiastical congregations, though in their present development belonging to recent rather than early ages, are supposed to have originated in Rome under John VIII, in the latter part of the IX. century. By him it was ordered that the higher Clergy should meet twice every month in some church, to hold counsel and enquire into ecclesiastical interests and practice, mainly with a view to decide in questions affecting the Holy See; and it seems to have been the idea thus to reproduce the institution of 70 Coun-

selors who assisted Moses in the legislation of Israel. In early ages *all* affairs, spiritual and temporal, political and municipal, were treated by the Pontiff in person, presiding in Consistory, where the Cardinals assisted, and where all causes were pleaded, as well those of ecclesiastics as the private litigations of laics. The Consistories were then held every day, festivals excepted. Innocent III, whose example perpetually suggests itself as personifying all that is admirable, all that commands respect for private and public virtues most suitable to the papal character, used, through his Pontificate of 18 years (1198-1216), to preside in public Consistory three days every week, administering justice to all, hearing the complaints and deciding the causes of applicants from every part of the world, without distinction of rank. Men of superior intellect frequently came from distant countries to listen to the eloquence and admire the wisdom of this extraordinary man — this genuine type of a High Priest according to the Christian standard. Hurter, in that masterpiece of Biography acquainting us with his life, presents a picture affecting and impressive of the venerable Pontiff on his judgment-seat, the protector of innocence, the redresser of wrong, the law-giver to Christendom. The humblest in intellect or station had access to that throne of justice; and in one instance a poor widow, who had scarce language to explain herself clearly, was listened to with patient attention till her grievances could be understood, and sentence given in her favor. The first stable congregation organised as a permanent body, was not earlier than the XVI. century, that of the Holy Office, founded by Paul III; and the Pontiff who most contributed to develope this system was Sixtus V, a Bull issued by whom, in 1587, either confirmed or instituted fifteen congregations with distinctly marked jurisdiction. Benedict XIV. was subsequently the Pontiff who most contributed to organise and extend the agency of these bodies. Some have been suppressed, as that for the government of Avignon and

Carpentras (when incorporated with the states of the Church), and that called *Dell' abbondanza dello Stato Ecclesiastico*, founded by Sixtus V, for protecting agrarian interests and providing against scarcity, to which Sixtus assigned 100,000 scudi out of his own purse, desiring that this sum should be considered a patrimony of the poor.

A sacred Congregation is composed of a certain number of Cardinals., one of whom is Prefect, or president, a Secretary, whose rank is prelatic, with writers employed under him, and Consultors, chosen from among canonists and theologians of ability. From their first institution these Congregations in Rome have been recognised throughout the Catholic world, by the episcopal body, tribunals and Universities, as the organs of the Holy See, whose decisions and definitions emanate from the plenitude of authority vested in the supreme Pontiff, considered not only as of obligation in the forum of conscience, but, once reduced to authentic form, to have the force of law before all Tribunals. Their decrees, in the class of affairs referred to his Holiness and decided by him immediately, possess, as soon as promulgated, the character of Apostolic Constitutions (1). Their annals and records, if published, would be of colossal scale and great value, as in their Archives the documents relating to all countries of Christendom may be counted by thousands. Those alone of the Congregation called « Council » comprise resolutions, decrees, or other documents, which, reckoned from its origin to the present day, would exceed 60,000. That of « Bishops and Regulars » annually compiles three large volumes of decrees, one relating to the affairs of the

(1) The decrees of the « Congregation of Index, » however, are accepted at present in very few countries; even in Italy, it is only the Roman and Neapoletan States where any regard is paid to the prohibition of books by this authority.

Hierarchy; another to the Regular Clergy, another to female Religious Orders, the total of which, since the origin of the Congregation, is at least 850. Among the curiosities of these inedited stores are numerous letters from Kings and Sovereign Princes, demanding counsel of the Holy See, and affording examples of deference to its authority which would be extraordinary if such did not abound in the pages of History. In the several Secretariates are kept registers of all the most important among these documents, with the minutes of causes, called positions, for the last decade of years; but all pieces of earlier date are deposited in the Vatican Archives, where they are not easily accessible. The jurisdiction of the Congregations does not expire with the life of the Pontiff, and under successive Popes their faculties continue without requiring renewal, though cases to be determined by his Holiness in person must necessarily be suspended, as also those requiring the signature of the Cardinal Prefect, during the interregnum and Conclave. Sometimes the Pontiff delegates full powers; otherwise consultative votes only are exercised by the Cardinals in Congregation, the sentence being reserved for the highest authority, as in the proceedings for Beatification, when the final judgment and decision is always pronounced by the Pontiff, after the opinions of the Cardinals have been listened to. Affairs to be submitted to the full Congregation are previously examined and reported on by a Consultation, whose acts are printed, and each Cardinal supplied with a copy before the assembly, in the Congregation, whose proceedings also are recorded in print. It is in the Papal Palace these general assemblies are held, the assistence of at least three Cardinals being required for the validity of their acts, besides that of the Secretary, who is either a Bishop *in partibus infidelium*, or a Prelate of the Court. As all decrees of the Congregations must be finally referred to the Pontiff,

the Secretary of each has audience weekly, when he also submits to his Holiness the report of affairs that may, with his sanction, be expedited by the Cardinal Prefect, assisted by the same secretary, apart from the full Congregation. The Secretary has also to supply the Cardinals with a report of each question or cause to be treated, and in the Congregation of Index, its Secretary has to destribute to the Consultors copies of all the books that have been denounced to that body, before their examination for sentence. The Consultors are appointed for life by the Pontiff, usually on recommendation from the several Congregations, and are required to satisfy a high standard of zeal, probity, and abilities. Advocates also have duties to discharge connected with these Congregations, but of a very different nature from those they exercise before other tribunals, being required always to plead and report in writing, never orally, as the practise of all the Congregations is to refuse listening to litigant parties in dispute. Besides causes purely ecclesiastical, it is not unfrequently that purely civil ones also (with consent of parties on each side) are brought before the Congregations; and it is required of the Advocate, in this arena, to be thoroughly versed, not only in Canon and civil Law, dogmatic and moral Theology, but in History, especially the ecclesiastical.

Memorials and requests may be addressed to the Congregations through the Secretariates, whence answers may also be obtained, but the channel of the post can never be used. Commonly such appeals are made through the Ordinaries of dioceses; but for extrajudiciary affairs any person of respected character may be deputed to present supplications and receive the decisions in answer. When criminal cases are judged by a Congregation, counsel is always allowed to the accused, and for persons in narrow circumstances, gratuitously. The exemption of the applicants from all expense is indeed a feature in

the procedure of these ecclesiastical bodies too remarkable, and honorable to them, to be passed over without particular notice. Entire gratuity of services, besides promptitude in the despatch of affairs, was one of the principal objects desired by the Popes in creating these Congregations. In those of Holy Office, Index, Propaganda, and the Penitentiary, decisions, decrees, Indults, Dispensations, all are passed and granted free of charge, the requisite costs in each proceeding, for printing of documents, salaries of officials ec. being entirely defrayed by the Holy See. This gratuity, in the strictest sense, was prescribed to the proceedings of the Holy Office, by Papal decree, in 1601; and a brief of Pius VI, in 1775, whilst regulating the salaries of *employés* in the Congregation of Council, forbid them to receive any fees, even when spontaneously offered for extraordinary services. An oath never to touch a fee must indeed be taken before entering on the duties of office, though when copies of documents in the Secretariate, or in the Vatican Archives, to be selected not without difficulty, are required of them, then, and then only, may such officials receive a trifling compensation. In causes brought before the Congregation of Council, requiring unusual attention and studies (as is the case with many of those of matrimony) a fee of a few pauls is taken from the parties successful, but never from those failing. In that of Bishops and Regulars, a cause of approval for a new religious institution, which always requires long and laborious investigation, references to Ordinaries, and many contingent expences, the cost of a few scudi is all that is entailed on applicants. The accusation that Rome seeks to enrich herself, that the Holy See aims at amassing wealth through the operation of its spiritual government, is so false that no well informed person can ingenuously bring it forward.

Congregations held before the Pope, called *Coram Sanctissimo* (« in the most sacred presence ») are convoked at his

pleasure, when he desires to confer on extraordinary affairs. On these occasions the members of the body to be consulted are usually summoned to his Palace in the evening.

The Pope takes his seat at a small table apart, the Cardinals round a table in the centre, the Consultors standing behind them. His Holiness commences with prayer; the Consultors either read or deliver without MS. their reports on the question at issue, after which they leave the room, and the Cardinals severally give their opinions, the Secretary taking down, either in summary or word for word by dictation, his report of the proceeding. The Pontiff finally interposes, either with general remarks or a decisive sentence, which it rests with him to pronounce at once, or reserve till a future day. Great interests have thus often to be decided in these grave and quiet assemblies by night at the Vatican; and society throughout Christendom may be called to feel the effects of the silent but mighty agency that goes forth from those walls.

The Congregations now existing are as follows:

Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs.

Founded by Pius VII, in 1814, with the special object of restoring the ascendancy of religion, after the influx of those infidel and subversive principles that were alike causes and results of the great Revolution. Its attention is directed to extraordinary affairs (even, sometimes, those properly pertaining to other congregations) and questions submitted to the decision of the Holy See, from whatever part of the world. Its sessions are held once a week, usually in presence of the Pontiff, in the evening; and one of its two secretaries has weekly audience of his Holiness.

Census.

Founded by Pius VII, 1816. The project for a general register of stable property (*Catasto*) originated with Pius VI, in 1777, and, carrying out his idea, his successor, in 1801, abolishing various imposts, reduced the whole to a system of direct taxation on property (*imposta fondiaria*) called the « Dativa reale ». Then was instituted this Congregation, in the immediate object of obtaining estimates of landed property throughout the states. At that period few maps of these provinces existed, and only those formed by the Napoleonic government were serviceable. The preparation of others was ordered by the Census, and in the course of four years, were prepared 4,073, now kept in the archives of this Congregation, and in which are designated not fewer than 4 million estates. Topographic charts of all provinces and cities were then ordered for publication, but this work has advanced slowly, and, up to the year '42, had only been published charts of Rome, its suburbs, and Civita-Vecchia. The estimation of rural property was begun in 1825, and finished in three years, 1242 territories being contemplated, and the total value then calculated at 183,288,612 scudi — 19 millions more than had appeared in the *Catasto* of 1794. The same operation was repeated, on the instance of many proprietors and Communes, in 1833, when the aggregate value was reported at an amount somewhat larger; again in '47, when the rural properties were estimated at 870 million francs, not including the province of Benevento. It has recently been published that the total of agricultural wealth in these States may be set down as 2 milliards, 610 million francs.

Ceremonial.

Founded by Sixtus V, 1587, for deciding questions and superintending observances of the liturgic character, all that relates to formalities, precedence between dignitaries, ecclesiastical and civil etc. By this Congregation are given instructions to the Noble Guardsmen and Ablegates destined to convey the scarlet skull-cap and *beretta* to Cardinals, absent from Rome at the time of their creation; also to new Cardinals respecting the formalities proper to their rank, and the style they should adopt in writing to sovereigns. The archives of this Congregation form a unique collection, comprising copies of all the letters from Sovereigns to Cardinals in answer to the announcement of their creation, and to the congratulations annually addressed by the sacred College to Catholic monarchs at Christmas. The Cardinal Dean is always Prefect of the « Ceremoniale, » which, besides the secretary, a Prelate, is composed entirely of members of the Sacred College.

Council

Founded by Pius IV, in 1564, superintends the carrying into effect of decrees and principles established by the Council of Trent, referring all questions where doubt has arisen to the Pope, who alone has authority to decide. This Congregation has jurisdiction in causes of matrimonial Dispensation, and validity of religious vows, and has the privilege of writing in the name of his Holiness, but without authority to interpret in matters of faith. It meets in the Papal Palace, weekly in November, and every 22 days during the Summer. Annually, since 1718, have been published the records of its procedure, « Thesaurus Resolutionum S. Congreg. Concilii. »

Consistorial.

Founded [by Sixtus V. examines and prepares in detail the affairs to be treated in Consistory, in order that, as disputation would not accord with the dignity of that assemblage, (where the Pontiff presides before the Sacred College) all questions may be sifted and decided upon anteriorly, the Pope hiniself being Prefect of this Congregation, and all its members, except the Secretary, Cardinals.

Sacra Consulta.

Paul IV, after he had found it necessary to banish from Rome his own relations, including the Cardinal Caraffa, who had absorbed in his person all the affairs of government in a manner intolerable and most prejudicial, appointed several Cardinals for the regulation of public affairs, to which body Sixtus V. gave the form of a congregation, with power to decide in civil and criminal causes for the whole state. Its attributions have been modified by Pius VII, and his successors, so that to its competence now pertains the judicature, by way of appeal, in revision of causes decided only by the tribunals on this side the Appenines. But in causes of lese-majesty, the Sacra Consulta is the exclusive Tribunal, and at present sentence of death is only passed in Rome, finally and inappellably, at its judgment-seat (unless, as rarely happens, no appeal be made from the common criminal Tribunal). All causes in which sentence of death has been passed by other tribunals, whether in Rome or the provinces this side the Appenines, must be revised and determined by the Consulta, as highest Court of appeal. It also adjudicates in such cases of felony as the destruction of property in forests, and is responsible for the protection of public health by sanitary

measures — Every provincial president sends to it periodically a report on the condition of prisons within his district. — Under the prefectship of the Cardinal Secretary of State, it is at present composed of 12 Cardinals and several Prelates, including the President and vice-President of the criminal tribunal of Rome, and meets in the stately palace on the Quirinal, called after its name. Except in grave cases where ecclesiastics are the accused, the judicial proceedings of this court are never attended by the Cardinals, but left to the *Ponenti*, as the other members are styled from their faculty of *proposing* in the course of procedure.

Regular discipline

Founded by Clement X, 1652, attends to questions affecting the interests of monasteries and convents, their discipline, and reception of novices, all matters of extraordinary nature brought before it being referred to his Holiness in weekly audience by the Prelate Secretary. Its 9 Consultors are all of the Regular Clergy; the other members, Cardinals.

Examination of Bishops

Founded by Clement VIII, 1592, for the examination before his Holiness of the elect to all Bisoprics of free provision by the Holy See, or to which presentation is made by Italian Sovereigns, only including, however, those situated in Italy. The examinations in Theology and Canon Law are held once a week in the Pontific Palace, when as many as four, or not more than twelve nominees are admitted, one at a time, to pass through this probation.

The examination is held in the Hall of Consistory, the Pontiff being enthroned, the Cardinals assisting in robes of state. The nominee kneels before a seat in the midst, and

answers questions in Latin, the idiom exclusively used. At the conclusion the Pontiff expresses approbation (unless in cases rarely occurring), and the rest, acquiescence. Cardinals appointed to Bishoprics are not required to pass through this examination; and it rests with the Pontiff to dispense, in other cases, or should the nervousness natural on such occasion, cause confusion in the answers of one of known theological attainments, to suspend the interrogation without prejudice to him. It is related that when St. Francis de Sales was made a Bishop, in 1602, on his arrival in Rome to pass through this examination, the Minister of Turin objected, urging that, as a Savoyard, he should be exempted. All were satisfied as to the deserts and capacities of the holy man, but Clement VIII, to terminate the question, declared that he would himself examine him — *l' esamineremo noi*. This Congregation consists of Cardinals, Bishops, and Archbishops, certain of the Regular Clergy, an Auditor of his Holiness, and several Prelates.

Fabric of St. Peter's.

(« Reverenda Fabbrica etc. ») Besides providing for the repair and good keeping of the Great Basilica, this Congregation watches over the execution of all bequests for charitable or other pious objects; and all notaries are obliged, within the term of a month, to report whatever testaments belonging to this category have been rogated by them. To provide for the support of a sanctuary so vast and splendid, different Pontiffs have appropriated revenues — as the tribute (or alms) for Crusades, collected in various countries; charitable bequests not fulfilled, or whose proper application remains doubtful, impeded by such obstacles as the incapacity of the legatee, or repudiated legally; also be-

quests for banquets and public spectacles. Julius II. published Indulgences for all who should assist, by alms or by personal labor, in the erection of the new St. Peter's; and it is well known how occasion was taken from the scandalous conduct of friars engaged in collecting the offerings for this Indulgence, under Leo X, to raise tempests of opposition against the Church (1). Clement VII. founded a college of 60 members from different nations, to provide for the interests and decide questions relating to the privileges of this sanctuary, with subjection to no authority but his own. Clement VIII. substituted for that body the existing Congregation of Cardinals and Prelates, under the presidence of the Cardinal Archpriest of St. Peter's. The origin, however, of such an institution, connected with the same Basilica, is supposed much more ancient.

All its property, and all causes affecting this Congregation, are considered as appertaining to the Holy See. It enjoys, in legal affairs, the privileges of the Apostolic Camera, and has criminal jurisdiction for offences committed, by laics or ecclesiastics, within the Basilica and its purlieus.

(1) In the Conclave that elected Clement VII a Convention was agreed and solemnly sworn to by all the Cardinals, containing, among various clauses, one that imposed the obligation of promoting the works for completion of St. Peter's by all means found suitable: *Promitto, juro, et voveo, quod juxta conditionem temporis pro viribus procurabo quod edificium ecclesiae Sancti Petri de urbe finiatur.* Farthermore, the Cardinals bound themselves, by the same instrument, whosoever should be elected to the Pontificate, to revoke, immediately after his assumption, all and each of the plenary Indulgences, on whatever cause or occasion conceded to the Friars Minor, for the building of St. Peter's. (*Giornale Storico degli Archivi Toscani*, vol. II.) The Congregation of the *Reverenda Fabbrica* spends for the maintenance and repair of this great Sanctuary, including the pay of workmen employed on it, usually above rather than within the amount of 30,000 scudi per annum.

Benedict XIV. divided it into two classes, major and minor, the former of which meets, at pleasure of the Cardinal Prefect, in the Papal palace; the latter for affairs purely economie, both alike assembling in presence of the Prefect and three other Cardinals. In questions of expense above 200 scudi, or of indefinite amount, the full Congregation must be referred to; in others the Economist and Auditor of the Cardinal Prefect determine as to expenditure. In minor cases the Economist judges personally; in major ones, the full Congregation. The Economist has audience weekly.

Ecclesiastical Immunities.

This Congregation (founded 1626, by Urban VIII.) decides in questions affecting ecclesiastical prerogatives, rights of asylum, and jurisdiction. It receives appeals in causes produced, in the first instance, before episcopal courts, and annually concedes faculties for levying the usual communal taxes upon ecclesiastics. As to rights of asylum, though Gregory XVI, and other Pontiffs, have limited them by excluding certain heinous criminals, the observance of particular discipline is required even in such exceptional cases. A recently issued Circular of this Congregation to the Bishops of the Roman States is remarkable for indulgence in this respect, to a degree that has been severely criticised by a cotemporary Italian historian. It is there ordered that, should refugees abuse the privilege of asylum by committing in or near the place of sanctuary offences qualified as « delitti, eccessi, indecenze, » they cannot be removed without three days' notice, at the end of which term, unless leaving voluntarily, then only can they be withdrawn by force, and confined in the ecclesiastical prisons by the Ordinary. But, « whensoever the crime and excess committed during the retreat, either within or without the place

of immunity, be of those excepted, and for which is allowed no benefit of asylum, this being verified, the extraction may be effected, without being preceded by the usual prefixing of a term. » In case of assassination in sanctuary (!) the Circular directs that the Ordinaries are to grant requisite faculties, either for removing the wounded or dead body to another place where the secular tribunals may interpose, or allowing the secular official, with assistance of a cleric, to investigate the crime on the spot. 26 Cardinals are enrolled in this Congregation, whose assemblies are held in the Papal Palace, their Secretary having audience whenever more than ordinary faculties are required. The Cardinals annually celebrate, at the English College, a « Cappella » on the 29th of December, in honour of St. Thomas a Becket, revered as the great vindicator of ecclesiastical immunities.

Index.

The Popes from early ages have uniformly aimed at impeding the circulation of books offensive to faith or morals. Before the invention of printing, they, either personally or by deputy, examined all works brought before public attention, in order to ascertain, approve, or condemn their contents. Shortly before the end of the V century, a Council at Rome declared what books might be read and received, or otherwise The burning of heretical books by the Church in the earliest ages, and the similar proceedings of Pagan censorship also, are mentioned by Baronius, *Anno* 56. In the V century the books of the Manicheans were burnt, opposite St. Maria Maggiore, by Pope Gelasius, and again, by Symmacus and Hormisdas, in the portico of the Lateran. The first publication of a regular Index of prohibited books was in 1548, drawn up by the Nuncio at Venice; and the first printed at Rome

was in 1577, reproduced two years later in an edition now very rare. In 1564 was approved, by Pius IV, the Index drawn up by order of the Council of Trent, through means of a Committee of Cardinals and regular clergy. Though the examination of books already belonged to the competenc of the Inquisition, Pius V created a Congregation expressl for the discharge of that office, in 1571, which was amplifie by Sixtus V, with authority to publish new editions of th Index, from time to time, as found expedient, and also t accord licenses for reading prohibited works in the object of refuting the errors they contained, or when other satisfactary motives could be urged by applicants for this permission. Many Catholic writers having camplained of the condemnation of their works, Benedict XIV, in 1753, prescribed the method now observed by the examiners, and with especial carefulness when writings by Catholics have to be considered. When works have been denounced to the Congregation, a certain number of Consultors are deputed to examine them, and the objections urged against them, without communicating with each other, as in this task they are always prohibited from doing. Their several opinions, drawn up and justified according to the views of each respecting the subject, are printed and consigned to the Secretary, who makes a general report of the tenor of these documents to the Cardinal Prefect, and sometimes to the Pope immediately. Other Consultors are then appointed to form a second Committee, together with those already engaged on the inquiry, in the object of arriving thus at a collective agreement. This Committee, called the *preparatary session*, is presided over by the Cardinal Prefect, and meets for a discussion whose results are given by votation. Should the question still remain undecided, the formula used is the single word, *dilata*: and another examination by Consultors is ordered, for a final report. But if this session come to agreement in votes,

sentence is passed on the work under consideration, in the formula *prohibeatur — prohibeatur donec corrigatur, — expurgatur,* or *dimittatur* — this last being the most favorable, the negative approval which alone is accorded by the Congregation. The Secretary then supplies the Cardinals with a printed report of the votation, and finally is held the general Congregation, sometimes in presence of the Pope, when all the Consultors are summoned severally, and each Cardinal may propose doubts or objections to be considered and answered. The Consultors being dismissed, the Cardinals are left alone to vote, in a sense either adopting or rejecting, and sometimes modifying the sentence, by which means the final decision, under sanction of the Pontiff, is attained. After condemnation of a certain number of works (and not usually till such classification can be made) the decree of prohibition is published in Latin, with the titles both in the original and translated into that idiom, and affixed at the portals of Basilicas, as well as in other public places in Rome, to be afterwards inserted in the official paper, and interpolated in the pages of the Index, two editions of which (1835-41) appeared in the late Pontificate. The Secretary of the Congregation is always a Dominican, one of which Order was first appointed to the office by the Tridentine Council. To him belongs the authority of granting license for the use of prohibited books, to obtain which a supplication, either in Latin or Italian, addressed immediately to the Holy Father, must be left at his office in the Minerva Convent, with statement of the objects in view, and of the college or University where the applicant has studied. After about a week, an answer may be received, through the same office, in Latin, which, when favorable, usually specifies certain works excepted from the permission, and all such as are avowedly hostile to religion or morality. (In one of these licenuses before me, the exceptions: are Volny's *Ruines des Em-*

pires, Dupuy's *Origine de tous les Cultes*, the *Novelle* of Casti, and all the works of Bentham.) For the expedition of this, the sole expense entailed is a fee of 2 pauls, or 10 pence English. Several distinguished Prelates, and regulars of different Religious Orders are enrolled among the Consultors of this Congregation.

Indulgences and Relics.

At various periods, Pontiffs and General Councils (especially that of Trent) have passed decrees to provide against abuse in the concession of Indulgences. Pius IV, by a bull of 1562, ordered that the bestowal of every Indulgence should be gratuitous on pain of excommunication incurred by the very act (*latae sententiae*). Near the end of the same century, Clement VIII. created a Congregation of Cardinals and Prelates charged with the care of regulating the system of Indulgences according to the canons of the Church in their strictest sense and purity, not only with the obligation of carrying into effect the decrees of the Tridentine Council, in this respect, but charged also with another task, most important for the preventions of abuses — the verification of Relics, with a view especially to prevent deception by impostors, and provide that none should be exposed to veneration save Relics belonging to the saints recognised by the Roman Church, and of approved genuineness. Against the vending of spurious relics St. Augustine had inveighed as an abuse existing even in his time. The Crusades, no doubt, contributed much to this evil, and gave impulse to the fanaticism that resulted in the deluging of European countries with all sorts of absurdly pretending objects, to stock the market of credulity, and discredit the temples of Christianity by their claims. Innocent III issued a special decree to check this abuse, in the

same spirit and sense that other laws have been passed by the Church to prevent the natural impulse of affection and reverence, consecrated by religion, from degenerating into a degrading superstition. The Congregation still labours for the same ends, in its jurisdiction with regard to relics; but it is to be regretted that so many objects claiming that character still remain in Italian churches that it would be insult to any educated man to attempt the vindication of. Every Bishop is required to burn such pseudo relics as he may be able to obtain, that have been vended or publicly displayed in his diocese. At the beginning of each pontificate this Congregation publishes a list of all the Indulgences conceded by the new Pope, as attached to medals, rosaries, crucifixes ec. blessed by himself, or by others with special faculties from him.

Inquisition, or Holy Office.

This holds the first place, for importance and authority, among the Sacred Congregations of Rome. It is a Tribunal so deeply compromised by the crimes of the past, and the fatal policy by which was once discredited the cause of Catholicism itself, that the extremely hostile feeling now prevailing against it in Italy (perhaps not less than in any Protestant country) requires neither excuse nor explanation. But a writer who may be considered to represent the opinions accepted in Rome, undertaking its defense, puts forth the statements: « It is not, as so many of our enemies have reported, a terrific, tenebrose, and fatal Tribunal, nor are the fables circulated against it worth refutation, however injurious to the holy Apostolic See, whose august Chief has always presided over it. Nothing could be more wise, prudent and impartial than its administration, since, by proceeding se-

cretly, it spares the reputation of delinquents, aiming at their conversion, and affording opportunity for their defence, either sustained personally, or by an honorable and able advocate, attached to the tribunal itself, unless (as sometimes permitted) another counsel be engaged, at the choice of the accused, to plead his cause. In this procedure there is no abuse of power; but, on the contrary, all is regulated by principles of charity, while clemency is united with justice. An idea of the indulgence peculiar to this Congregation may be formed from the fact, that those who have erred in faith are always admitted before its tribunal, to confess their error, when penitent, and receive absolution without having to undergo any external penalty ». (*Moroni, Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-ecclesiastico*). The third Council of Lateran (1177) declared that, though the Church abhorred shedding of blood, it should be lawful to prosecute by excommunication heretics and their supporters who were not content with acting in silenee and secresy, but proclaimed their errors publicly and audaciously: all converse with them the Council interdicted, and decreed an Indulgence of two years to those making war against them. The Council of Verona (1184) presided by Lucius III, with assistance of the Emperor Frederick, ordered the Bishops to prosecute those designated by the public voice, or other more particular proofs, as heretics, bnt with due distinction between the suspected, the convicted, the penitent, and relapsed. The fourth Lateran Council (1215) ordered that twice, or at least once every year, the Bishops should, in person or by proxy, make a visitation throughout their dioceses, and should confide to certain approved laymen the inquiry after heretics, or even charge the inhabitants of an entire county, under obligation by oath, with this research (*inquisitio*). Thus originated, in principle, the Tribunal of Inquisition, which did not at first receive the character of a permanent institution, but

simply that of an extraordinary means to meet emergencies of danger. But in 1229, under the pontificate of Gregory IX, the Council of Toulouse gave it a much more definite organisation and powerful agency, by determining its attributes in a constitution of 15 articles, from which time the Inquisition held the rank of a regular tribunal, soon to extend itself over Europe. After being established in France, Italy, and Germany, it reached Poland in 1318, and was established in England, by parliamentary statute, in 1400. Among the instructions given by the Toulouse Council, it was prescribed that all Bishops and feudally sovereign Abbots should appoint, in each parish, a priest and two honorable laics to be engaged, under obligation of an oath, in the pursuit of hereties that such might be delivered up to justice; that whoever had given shelter to a heretic should lose civil rights, and be delivered for punishment to his feudal superior; that if heretics were frequently discovered within the territories of the same superior, he (the latter) should be amenable to legal penalties; that the penitent, after renouncing heresy, should establish themselves in another locality, and wear on their dress two crosses, of different colours, till the Pope or his Legates should permit them to resume their ordinary costume. Those who returned within the pale of the Church, from motives of fear, instead of sincere conversion, should be under perpetual *surveillance*, subsisting upon their revenues, if possessing any, but, if poor, supported by ecclesiastical alms — thus were benevolence and severity blended in the medieval Church. The same Council ordered that none either convicted or suspected of Heresy should practise medecine; and required that the duties of Confession and Communion should be discharged by the faithful, under pain of being exposed to suspicion of heretic pravity, three times a year (Alzog, v. 11, chap. 11, 282.) The ideas dominant in those ages must

be appreciated and understood before we can iudge of institutions then universally and legally sanctioned; and we may remember how Princes of the most opposite character, Frederick II, Louis IX, Raymond of Toulouse, enacted or confirmed laws against Heresy, considered (from the then prevailing point of view and peculiar social conditions) in every sense a crime, against the Church, the State, and society. The immediate part taken by Innocent III and St Dominic in the persecution of hereties, with the forms of inquisitorial proceeding, has been misrepresented. Not St Domenic, but Pietro di Castelnau (1), was the Inquisitor commissioned by the Pope at the time the great object was to suppress the errors of the Albigenses, against whom was carried on a Crusade in France, with circumstances of cruelty deeply regretted by Innocent, but by no means confined to the Catholic side, whose adversaries were scarcely inferior in ferocity or bigotry to the worst of those fighting under the banners of the Church (2). When the doctrines of Luther and Calvin were agitating many parts of Europe, the establishment of that central Tribunal of Inquisition still existing in Rome, was determined on by Paul III, acting by the counsel of Cardinal Caraffa, who afterwards became Pope as Paul IV. It is formed by a Congregation of six Cardinals, presided by the Pontiff himself, with faculties to op-

(1) The murder of this Inquisitor by fanatical sectarians, near Como, induced the adoption of severer measures by Rome; and that victim, as St. Peter Martyr, became an object of religious veneration, whose tragic fate has furnished a theme for celebrated creations of the pencil and chisel. His assassin, who repented, has, though without formal sanction of the Holy See, been allowed to partecipate in the honors of the altar, and is invoked, in the diocese of Forli, as the Beato Carino.

(2) For full accounts of the Crusade against the Albigenses, see Hurter, « Innocent III, » and Cantu, « Storia Universale »

point Inquisitors for the exercise of similar jurisdiction in any part of Catholic Christendom. The Dominican Order has been in a peculiar manner, though not exclusively, connected with this Institution, and the formerly existing Tribunals of Tuscany and the Venetian States were administered by Conventual Franciscans; that of Spain, at one period, by Regular Cleries of other Orders. As to the Inquisition of that last country, which carried its sanguinary prosecutions to such ruthless extent, that within three centuries were put to death by it 341,000 persons (or an average of 1136 annually) it may be urged that it was an institution purely political, against which several Popes exerted themselves — though indeed to little purpose. Even the rigorous procedure of the French Inquisition was objected to, and confined within juster limits, in the XIII ad XIV centuries, by the Popes Gregory IX, Innocent IV, Boniface VIII, and Clement V (1).

Not only inquiry into cases of Heresy, but jurisdiction in proceeding against all analogous offences, is classed among the attributes of this body. By its authority was drawn up the first Index of prohibited books, published with sanction of a constitution by Paul IV; and in his last hour, that Pontiff summoned the Cardinals to his death-bed, recommending to them this (as he styled it) *santissimo tribunale.* Sixtus V. raised the number of Cardinals composing it to 12, and amplified their jurisdiction, enabling the Tribunal to examine, prosecute, and punish in all cases of « Heresy, schism, apostacy, magic, divinations, abuse of the sacraments, and whatsoever others savouring of presumptive Heresy » throughout the Catholic world. From his Bull on the subject the Tribunal first received the title of Holy Office. Benedict XIV. decreed that those guilty of Heresy, who had fled from the prisons of the Inquisition to a place of sanctuary,

(1) Alzog. *Hist. universelle de l'Eglise*, v. II, chap II,

might he thence withdrawn after communication with the Ordinary of the diocese, but that fugitives whose offence was different could not he removed from sanctuary, nor even those condemned to the gallies or perpetual imprisonment, without an Apostolic Indult. At present the cases adjudicated by this Tribunal are under the following categories: — Heresy and heretical blasphemy, polygamy on the part of man or woman, robbery of the holy sacramental particles, with concurrent insult to the same, abuse of the Confessional or any sacramental ordinance — affectation or feigning of sanctity — contempt towards consecrated images — divination or sortilege — retention or reading of prohibited books — non-observance of days of fasting or abstinence, when out of contempt for ecclesiastical precept. Its authority extends, in causes of faith, over persons of what soever grade or dignity, without exception in favour of any privilege, though against Bishops it must be reserved for the Pope to pronounce sentence, after the Inquisition has proceeded judicially. Its tribunal never condemns till the accusation is fully proved, with the same judicial formalities, testimony, cross-questioning, and defence by Counsel, as before other tribunals. False witnesses are punished by it with the great est rigour. In no case whatever are pecuniary mulcts imposed amony its penalties, which can never be directed against merely presumed offences. The confronting of witnesses with the accused is not its practise, though, at the discretion of the judges, this *may* be ordered. Speaking of its methods for arriving at the truth in prosecution, a writer of the day observes: « Il faut que cette vérité sorte naturellement de la bouche de celui qu'on examine, et non sous l'impression de la crainte » (*Analecta Juris Pontificii*, September 1856). When the Congregation assembles, an assessor reports the cases or questions to be treated, and reads the applications or memorials to be considered, after which the Cardinals

discuss, without admitting the Consultors, till these latter are summoned, as desired, to give their opinions; votation follows, and it is thus determined what cases are to be submitted to the Pontiff for final decision. The Congregation is divided into three classes, which usually convene thrice a week, except in vacation months; the first meeting on Monday with the intervention of Counsellors, a Prelate, an assessor, a commissary and others, to prepare for the cardinalitial congregation, which meets, usually on Wednesday, at the Dominican Convent of *S. Maria sopra Minerva*. The third Congregation is held before the Pope, usually on Thursday morning, with assistance of the Cardinals, Prelates, and other officials. In this last, after the Pontiff, at his throne, has opened with a prayer, are treated affairs of the gravest nature, and the decrees of the two previous assemblies are reported and revised, while the Assessor, Commissary and Counsellors wait in the antichamber till summoned to appear. Twice a year is held a special Congregation of Cardinals, formerly in the Palace of the Inquisition, till that building was occupied by French troops — on the Monday of Holy Week, and the 22nd or 23rd of December — which is called the *visita graziosa*, because a visit is then made by them to the prisons of the Inquisition. Secrecy is an obligation most strictly enforced on all members of this Tribunal, and promised by solemn oath, the violation of which is punished with the severest censures. The Congregation is distinguished, above all others, by having the Pontiff himself as Prefect and the senior Cardinal as secretary. Within late years it has been composed of 14 Cardinals, 3 *Qualificatori*, 28 Consultors, including five Bishops and several regular clergy, of the Dominican, Franciscan, Camaldulese, Oratorian, Carmelite and Jesuit Orders, with 4 laics of legal profession The Palace of the Holy Office, behind the colonnades of Peter's, was originally formed, in 1566, of two houses purchased by Pius V.

and enlarged. It was formerly the residence of the Prelate assessor, the Commissary, together with a certain number of Friars for requisite services, and contained a valuable library with archives, All these however have been removed since a French company took possession of the building, shortly ofter the siege of Rome in' 49. The archives are now at the Vatican, and the Congregations continue to meet, as formerly, in that Palace, or in the Minerva Convent. Among the possessions of the Holy Office, the principal is a very large estate called Conca, between Porto d' Anzio and Velletri, on which are considerable iron foundries, supplied by the river Astura. This territory, like the *Campo Morto* not far distant from it, on the Campagna, is strongly infected by *malaria*, and has privileges as a place of asylum to felons, thus being supplied with some population of shepherds and agriculturists, from that outlawed class.

However mitigated in its present character, such a Tribunal as the Inquisition has still an odium attached to it so great as to form a permanent source of discontent and mistrust among the subjects of Rome. That some ecclesiastical court should have power to punish the offences of ecclesiastics, or even others peculiarly and scandalously injurious to Religion, seems, in the abstract, rational and just; but as the Holy Office is now constituted, its existence could scarcely be reconciled with free institutions or liberty of conscience under any system. We may fairly doubt the possibility of carrying out its principles strictly, even under such a government as the Roman; and must draw inferences from what is too glaringly apparent, that in the only country of Europe where blasphemy is now classed among offences amenable to the law, the populace are habitually blasphemers! It is rarcly we hear of interference from this authority at present, still more rarely of its taking cognisance of cases where laics only are concerned. Sometimes, how-

ever, one of its sentences, couched in officially solemn terms, may be seen posted on the walls of Rome, as (in the last instance under my observation) in February' 59, a woman of Foligno, aged 34, was condemned to 12 years' imprisonment for « affectation of sanctity », pretended revelations, extasies, visions of the Saviour and the Virgin, «divinely received mission to reform the clergy and people etc. against which imposter the faithful were earnestly warned, and a society founded by her, called *Nazarenes*, was dissolved by sentence of the Tribunal. Another woman, known as Caterinella, who had been much talked of some years previously, been said to have gifts of prophesy, to have received stigmas (like St. Francis) and given other signs of supernatural privileges, was also condemned to imprisonment of considerable duration, after (it is said) she, instigated probably by her employers, had ventured on the dangerous ground of politics, in prophesy against the imperial government of France. The well-known case of a student of the Propaganda, an Oriental, who by a series of forged letters recommended himself to a Bishopric in Egypt, for which be was solemnly consecrated by the Pope, but, after detection, was brought back to Rome, tried and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment by this Tribunal, has not, in the result, afforded example of excessive severity, that culprit having been (since the revolution of' 48) transferred to a Convent by order of the Pope, and now enjoying such degree of liberty as to be often seen, with an attendent, in the churches or streets of Rome. I can neither guarentee nor refute a story, which it is remarkable that a priest should have been first to publish, and which seems to justify the severer imputations against this Tribunal — namely, that of a French Bishop, who remained a prisoner in its cells for 16 years, till liberated by the revolution of' 48, for no other offence than the fact of his episcopal

consecration proceeding from the constitutional Prelacy of revolutionised France, and who had come to Rome, in 1832, counselled by the Archbishop of Paris, in the conscientious object of obtaining absolution from the censures thus incurred. This unfortunate victim, (accepting the story as we have it published) reported his sufferings to the writer, who gives his own words: « Je fus saisé, on me jeta dans un affreux cachot. Il ne me fut pas permis d'écrire à personne ni en France, ni de ma famille, ni à Rome même à M. l'Ambassadeur; sans la bienheureuse révolution qui à brisé les portes de mon cachot, j'y aurais fini mes jours. » (Michon, *L'Italie politique et religieuse*). One of the first proceedings of that authority to which this unfortunate owed his liberty, was to throw open the palace and prisons of the Holy Office, where the public were invited to inspect the proofs, within those walls, how the cause of spiritual despotism had been darkly served! Crowds flocked hither during some days, eagerly examining halls, and cells, and subterraneans, in which latter were certainly found human bones, which an account published subsequently in Rome, declared had been removed beforehand from some cemetary, for the sake of getting up a scene, to stimulate public feeling already irritated. The effect was such as might have been expected, but no actual outrage ensued, though an intention to set fire to the principal Dominican convent was rumoured of. The Republican authorities had destined this, together with other waste localities, for the lodging of poor families; after the French occupation, the Tribunal of the Holy Office was restored and its *personnel* again took possession within these walls; that restoration, however, was only for a short period, as, soon afterwards, by a proceeding less respectful than usual on the part of the French to Papal authority in Rome, the ecclesiastic occupants were at once ejected, and the ancient buildings vacated to give place to an Artillery company,

which only left to be succeeded by other French troops within these walls. Thanks to the courtesy of their superiors, the building may now be easily inspected in all parts, excepte the chapel, dedicated to Pius V, which is no longer accessible, and the subterraneans, not usually opened or penetrable. One lofty and spacious hall, now the soldiers' dormitory, has an aspect sombre and mysterious, with its colossal frescoes of Domenican Saints and miraculous subjects that, one might imagine, would look ghastly and terrible by flickering lamp-light in hours of silence and darkness. Of two quadrangles the smaller and more dilapidated, with traces of the porticoes once surrounding it, has, along one side, a range of cells opening upon the ground floor, along a corridor, that have probably been the places of confinement in the severest rigours ever used by the *modern* Inquisition. But it cannot be denied that records of horror await the explorer of some parts in these sombre buildings, the last undisturbed seat of that dreaded Tribunal. In April of the present year, having heard that the subterraneans here were again accessible, through application to military superiors, I obtained the requisite permission, and was conducted through a series of under-ground dungeons, winding and narrow vaulted cells, whose horror-striking gloom could scarcely be exaggerated: some of these chambers are vast, low-vaulted, partly choked up with fallen masonry, and for the most part without a ray of light; others very small, with high grated windows admitting a faint light from the court above. Deeper dungeons than these, more narrow, and dark as night, are reached with some difficulty by descending ruinous staircases. From the largest chamber on the upper floor opens a deep well, to which corresponds above a large aperture in the vault now blocked up; and when a lighted paper is thrown down this, water, at considerable depth, is perceived. In several places are blocks of masonry at certain

distances, that might have served for the planks of beds; and to the vaults of various cells are attached large iron rings, some a little beyond, others within reach of the hand. Large nails are also attached to the walls in different places. One cell, in a series reached by a separate staircase, in the fore wing of the edifice, is a specimen of those dens contrived by medieval atrocity, in which the prisoner could never stand erect! The masonry is of irregular stone-work, with considerable mixture of mortar and stucco, and some parts of the vaulted roofing are covered with reeds, fixed in the stucco, either to give it consistence, or (according to the guide's report) to deaden sound. Several bones, mixed with heaps of rubbish, that have evidently remained here many years, are to be noticed in some chambers, but no skulls or connected portions of the human skeleton. We may contemplate with a shuddering sigh these evidences of what means were employed, in ages past, for the furtherance of a cause professing to aim only at the triumphs of Divine Religion; but there are other observations suggested here that must be consolatary — that, from the actual state of these prisons, ruinous, encumbered by fallen masonry, their floors sinking, and doors removed from their hinges, it is apparent many years must have passed since a single victim was left to the horrors of such a solitude; and the light of day, faintly streaming through the crevices of mouldering walls, seems emblem of that more blessed light, that has guided Humanity to juster appreciation of the Principle and Truth whose service is perfect freedom (1).

(1) The Inquisition, now only existing in the Roman States, was suppressed in Lombardy 1775, in Sicily and Tuscany 1782, in Venice 1797, in Spain 1820, and in Portugal 1826.

Propaganda Fide.

This Institution, the centre from which Catholic missions hanc extended over the whole world, originated in the measures taken by Gregary XIII. (1572) for promoting and maintaining the faith among Oriental nations already partially converted. With this object he formed a Jesuit college in Japan, and one for Armenians in Rome, sent missionaries to the Crimea, to the already Christian population of Malahar, and others in the East. Clement VIII. held the first regular Congregation of Propaganda in 1599, and from this time forward assemblies took place weekly in the Palace of the Cardinal appointed Prefect. But the foundation of the system in activity at present is due to Gregory XV, who, by a Bull of 1622, established formally the Congregation of Propaganda for promoting the faith, and sending missionaries to all countries not fully converted. Eleven Cardinals and two Prelates originally formed this Congregation, and one of the seeretaries was Domenico di Gesù e Maria, General of the discalced Carmelites, an order grealty meritorious as setting the first example of modern missions, in that undertaken by them in Persia 1604, such as the Propaganda afterwards systematized. The first session was held before the Pape, Ianuary 15th 1622, shortly after which was assigned to the Congregation *in perpetuam* the sum of 500 gold sendi, which every Cardinal has to disburse on his promotion to the Sacred College, (afterwards reduced, however, by Pius VII. to 600 silver scudi). A constitution of Clement VIII. was then revived by Gregory, in which all Italians were forbidden to reside in countries where free exercise was not allowed to the Catholic religion. A variety of privileges and immunities was hestowed on the new Congregation, and all Colleges then existing, as well as all to be instituted in the future

for propagating the faith, were subjected to its jurisdiction. Exemption from postage on letters was one of its privileges, since commuted into a pecuniary compensation, annually, from the postal administration. Urban VIII. established the College in the building it now occupies; and Alexander VII. added a special Congregation for the interests of Christianity in China. Under Innocent XI. originated the ecclesiastical conferences held every fortnight in this College for considering important epochs of church-history, according to a system proposed by the distinguished scholar and antiquarian, Monsignor Ciampini. For the endowment of the Institution, not only the Pontiffs, but many Cardinals and private individuals have co-operated most liberally, some by bequeathing part or the whole of their property to it. Among donations in ready money were, from Innocent XII, 150,000 gold scudi; from Clement XII., 70,000.

To deseribe fully the extent and activity of this Institution, would he required volumes. An idea of the its importance may be formed from the number of ecclesiastical authorities now under its direction. The Apostolic vicars, Delegates or Prefects, mostly of episcopal rank, subject to the Propaganda, according to recent reports, were: in Africa 12, in America 13, in Asia 27, in Europe 18 (formerly 30, till the present Pontiff reconstituted the Hierarchy in England and Holland) and in Occanica, 5. And the patriarchal, epispocal and archipiscopal dignitaries dependant on the Holy See, through the medium of the Propaganda, throughout the world, were then 99, including 5 Oriental Patriarchs, the Irish Bishops, those of the United States, Canada, and the Ionian Isles. To indemnify this College for its great losses during the French occupation, Pius VII. declared it exempt from all public imposts, and ordered the Apostolic treasury to disburse 2000 scudi monthly for its use. At present the Congregation is composed of the Cardi-

nal Prefect, who unites to the administration of his department the superintendence over the celebrated polyglot press for theologic and religious publications in all languages; another Cardinal Prefect over the economie department, 20 other Cardinals (of Italian, French, English and German nationality) numerous Consultors, either of episcopal rank, of the orders of Monks, Friars, or other regular Clergy, a prelatic secretary and certain lay officials. The general assembly meets the first Monday of the month, and minor assemblies are held weekly in the apartments of the Cardinal Prefect, when it is determined, among other things, what affairs should be referred to his Holiness in the audience given, every Sunday, to the Secretary, by whom Bishops, Prefects and *alumni* of the College about to leave for their destination, are, on these occasions, presented for a farewell benediction. A peculiarity of the Propaganda is that a College for education of missionaries, besides the Congregation, forms an integral part of its Institution. The education of such students comprises the range of elassic, philosophic, and theological studies, and is entirely gratuitous.

Residence of Bishops.

A Congregation of Cardinals, instituted by Urban VIII, 1634, to provide for the residence of Pastors in their respective Sees, as prescribed by the canons and by various Papal decrees. At present the Cardinal Vicar and a Prelate Secretary have the entire administration of this Institution, whose object is one the Church has always laid great stress on, considering the non-residence of Bishops, except with cogent motives, an inadmissible abuse. In the first Consistory held at Avignon, 1335, Benedict XII. gave congé to all Bishops and Abbots who had abandoned their churches. Innocent VI., in 1352, ordered residence under pain of excom-

munication; and Gregory XI., shortly after the restoration of the Holy See from Avignon to Rome, constrained all Prelates, Patriarchs, and Abbots to return to their Sees and Monasteries within two months, for permanent residence. The Council of Trent declared that not more than three months, consecutive or divided, should be allowed in the year for absence from dioceses, and only when justified by motives of charity, urgent necessity, or evident utility to the Church or State. Urban VIII. allowed to the Cisalpine Bishops four months, and to the Ultramontane seven, for their visit to Rome at the intervals required by the Canons. All questions as to permission for non-residence are now decided by this Congregation.

Sacred Rites.

Founded by Sixtus V. (1687) to provide for all that relates to divine worship, and the maintenance of Catholic rites in their dignity and beauty, according to ancient norma. But the gravest duty of this body is the procedure for Beatifications and Canonisations. Without licenee from it no process of this nature can be opened within less than fifty years from the death of the subject. Among its proceedings the first cause of Martyrdom treated was comparatively recent — that of 23 Franciscan missionaries, who suffered for preaching Christianity in Japan, beatified by Urban VIII, in the XVII century. The Cardinal di Luca (a writer of authority) observes that this Congregation is properly divided into two species — ordinary, to determine in questions of ceremonial, ecclesiastical precedence etc, and extraordinary, for treating of Canonisations and the veneration due to servants of God, beatified or sainted. The causes of canonisation or beatification are defended by advocates, and documents are compiled, usually of immense volume, relating to the individual in question

— his (or her) life and death, virtues and miracles (cases of healing not being accepted as miraculous without examination of experienced physicians and surgeons.) The assemblies are held at the Pontific Palace, in the ordinary ones being proposed what are called the *minor*, in the extraordinary the *major doubts* affecting the subject, the virtues, miracles, or martyrdom in question. In the last instance the assembly is held before the Pontiff, and the Cardinals give their opinion by votes, which, however, are only consultative, as the final decision partains to his Holiness.

Studies.

A Congregation founded (1587) by Sixtus V, and restored by Leo XII. (1824) to preside over the Roman University in particular, but, generally, over all Universities and Colleges, public or private, in these States, and over individuals employed in teaching. « Every time (are the words of the Bull of Leo) that the sacred Congregation shall deem it opportune to visit any University or public school, it may depute for this purpose a visitor to obtain the requisite informations, or carry out the arraugements with which he shall be charged by the same Congregation. Whosoever believes himself aggrieved by local superiors, in cases concerning the said Universities or schools, may have recourse to the Sacred Congregation. » The Cardinals Secretary of state, Camerlingo of the Church, Vicar of Rome, and Prefect of the Index are appointed in this Bull as *ex officio* members of the Congregation. Under 27 titles are prescribed the rules to be observed by the University and its superiors, and all concerning the course of studies, the taking of degrees, examinations, admission of students, the library, observatory, museum etc.

Bishops and Regulars.

Founded by Sixtus V. to determine the questions arising between Bishops and the monastic or other regular Clergy, and now possessing faculties very entensive, for deciding in the affairs and interests of the cloistered religious of both sexes. The matters which particularly belong to its competence, are: the examining of new religious institutions and their rules, the foundation of new Monasteries and Convents for either sex, and the removal of individuals from one Convent to another; licence for admitting female pupils (*educande*) into Convents of nuns, or for increasing the ordinary number in their communities, the permission to leave the cloister for a determined time, and the alienation of the property of regulars; questions of validity in the election of provincials, or ather superiors of religions Orders; jurisdiction over the elections of Vicars to vacant Sees; validity in the profession of regulars; differences between the Ordinaries, parish priests aud regulars, besides many other questions. The Congregation also gives faculties to monks or other regulars for holding benefices, and dispenses in certain cases from the rules of religious Orders, concedes secularisation to professed religious, and the right of acquiring property to those already secularised. Through its organ are effected the foundation, union, or suppression of Monasteries, and other religious establishments. It has the protectorship also over institutions of charity; and through its means the Pontiff orders commutation, in respect of testaments, for the benefit of such, and the application of bequests for heneficent objects.

Apostolic Visitation.

Founded, 1592, by Clement VIII, who, to confirm precept by example, himself visited all the Churches, Monasteries, Colleges and hospitals of Rome, to inquire into every detail of their administration and economy. The duty of every Bishop to visit personally or by deputy, at prescribed intervals, all the Churches and religious institutions in his diocese, was especially euforced by the Council of Trent, thongh of far more ancient, and indeed universal observance. The Pontiffs, carrying out this principal, frequently visit Churches and Monasteries iu Rome and its environs, not only as chiefs of the universal Church, Patriarchs of the West, and Primates of Italy, but as Bishops of this See. Some Popes have delegated Bishops distinguished for piety and learning to this inspection of religious establishments in Rome, after making the visitation themselves at the principal Basilicas. Thus Benedict XIV., in 1745, opened the regular apostolic visit, by repairing three days successively to the Lateran, where he issued orders for the service of the Basilica, and (with example truly admirable in his exalted station) himself examined the children of the parish in the *dottrina Christiana* (or Catechism) which he patiently and kindly explained to them. The apostolic visit was in the same manner opened by Leo XII., at the Lateran, in 1824. The Congregation above-named is totally apart, in its functions, from such duties as the visitation of the Roman dioeese, ordered, or effected in person, by the Pontiffs, (usually at the opening of their reigns) though its eares are directed to similar objects; its faculties are therefore suspended during the period of those more solemn proceedings. The Pontiff himself is Prefect, the Cardinal Vicar President of this Congregation.

Besides the above-named, another Congregation has been

formed by Pius IX, consisting of nine Cardinals, « sopra lo Stato de' Regolari » — charged, that is, with the difficult and delicate task of inquiring into the condition of the Regular Orders, correcting abuses, effecting reforms ec. No act of this Pontificate has, perhaps, been fraught with more important consequences, as affecting the future of the Church, though scarcely has public attuation been called to it, or even information given, beyond certain circles, of a step so quietly taken yet deeply significant. Only likely to become known to the public generally by results, the proceeding of this body has naturally been the subject of conjecture, and the reforms attempted, as well as obstacle encountered, much dwelt on by rumour in this country. Reports few can undutake to guarantee, have, at least, proved that the Congregation has not remained inactive. The Franciscan and Dominican Orders are said to have peculiarly occupied its cares, hence the severer observance of the rule restored at *S. Maria sopra Minerva*, and regulations, respecting the Mendicant Friars, that tend much to restrict the numbers henceforth to be received into their communities. The necessity for reforms in the Religious Orders, throughout Italy, hut especially in the Roman States, must be apparent to all acquainted with their present circumstances; and if this great object be obtained thoroughly, in conformity with enlightened principles, under the Pontificate of Pius IX, a new title to historic celebrity will certainly be established for it.

THE SACRED COLLEGE

One may reside long in Rome before the opportunity offers of witnessing the *possesso*, or installation of a newly created Cardinal at his titular church, which the official paper never fails to record with due solemnity, when such *ex post facto* information has ceased to be valuable, but which it is not easy to secure occasion of attending in the absence of all requisite notice beforehand.

It was one beautiful evening in May, on the commemoration of the martyrdom (as the Church regards it) of St. John the Evangelist, in the cauldron of boiling oil, that I visited the antique church *S. Giovanni a Porta Latina*, on the spot of that Apostle's sufferings under Domition, close to the fortified gateway from which it takes its name, where the Greek Cross and dusky battlements of Honorius have long guarded a portal whose threshold is untrodden — this « Porta Latina » having remained for many years closed, its turreted towers left to moulder away, only approachable through solitary lanes amidst gardens or vineyards, where a few forlorn cot-

tages and villas are the sole habitations to be seen. The lofty medieval belfry with narrow arched windows, and some features of early Romanesque, still give interest, spite of tasteless modernisations, to this antique church, now seldom used, except on the Station days, for any service besides the Mass on Sunday mornings. Entering it now, I was surprised by the show of decorations on its faded walls: in the long vestibule of the deserted Convent hung quaint tapestries adorned with groups of Gods and Goddesses, interspersed with courtly ladies and cavaliers, in sixteenth century style; and within the sacred walls, a profusion of crimson and white, silk and velvet, gold fringes and festoons, palls of satin fantastically embroidered (reminding one of the stately ladies in Reynolds's portraits,) had transformed that antique sanctuary into a scene for a royal pageant. Presently commenced solemn Vespers, sung to the organ by fine voices, with a large attendance of clergy in crimson copes, and a ritual pomp that was more impressive from its contrast with all around — the olden architecture, and the rural solitude, the Roman ruins, medieval fortifications, and silent garden-grounds. The clergy nearly filled that nave divided from narrow aisles by columns from some Pagan temple, and the Congregation, at first scanty, gradually increased, so as to make it evident that some other attraction besides the commonly recurring grand Vespers with choral music, had this evening brought a Roman throng to the unfrequented precincts of S. Giovanni a Porta Latina. When the strains of the last psalm had ceased, returning to the vestubule, I found another crowd outside, mostly of ecclesiasties and students, carriages and livery servants, evidently waiting for some personage expected with interest as the object of all these honors; and long had they to wait, till at last was seen advancing slowly up the lane between high garden-walls, a cortége of chariots surrounded and preceded by servants in those old style liveries conspi-

cuous at Rome, thus being escorted the Cardinal di Pietro, late Nuncio at Lisbon, who came to take formal possession of the church recently assigned to him in Consistory as his *titolo*. On descending from a sumptuous carriage, drawn by four black horses, at the entrance, he was received with profondest reverence by a large company of priests in surplices, who, after entering the church, grouped in a circle round him, near the threshold, whilst the holy water was offered by the first in dignity to the Cardinal. Thus was formed a procession, first to the altar of the Holy Sacrament, afterwards to the tribune, where a few prayers were read by an assistant priest and by the Cardinal himself. The latter then took his seat at a crimson hung throne under a canopy, whilst a notary, standing before him, read the diploma conferring possession of this church as a cardinalitial title. The Te Deum followed, sang to the usual majestic cadence, joined in by all voices without instrument; and finally his Eminence give the episcopal Benediction, standing before the altar, with flowing train and the ermine hood (a part of the costume now seldom put to its proper purpose) thrown over his head, so as to remind one of Raffael's frescoes by his figure thus enveloped in scarlet draperies disposed so well for effect. It seemed expected he would have spoken, as Cardinals usually address the local clergy on these occasions, but (though no one, seeing his antecedents, could doubt the abilities of the late Nuncio) he did not thus gratify his audience this evening. In receiving the congratulations of the clergy, and of several lay gentlemen who surrounded him as he returned into the portico from the church, his manner was affable and unnassuming. The party then passed into a parlour of the deserted Convent, fitted up for the occasion, where the priveleged were admitted to converse, and partake of refreshments with his Eminence. The whole ceremony was interesting and picturesque, being indeed pe-

cularly of Rome, Roman; nor was there wanting matter for thought, reminiscence that associated with the Past, in this evidence of the vitality, the almost unconscious majesty of the ancient system, moving and acting with pomp of ritual and strict adherence to punctilious precedents, not less marked in the celebrations at a deserted church, for from all great thoroughfares, and without any previous notice to a public that might have attended, than at Papal *funzioni* in the Vatican, and standing proudly immutable amidst the decaying monuments, not only of Pagan Rome, but even of a Christianity now belonging to ages gone by!

When the visitor at the Sistine Chapel, for the first time, casts glances over that group in flowing robes of scarlet and ermine, that form a gorgeous circle round the throne of the Pontiff, he may observe with surprise how few countenances, among those ecclesiastical princes, bear any marks of mental superiority, though exceptions there certainly are, and the stamp of intellect in some, the characteristics of sanctity in others, harmonise with the ideal of their sacred dignity. Of celebrities among them deceased, the illustrious Mai was remarkable for aspect serenely intellectual: but the most marvellous linguist ever known, had nothing external that either the physiognomist or phrenologist could have dwelt on with much interest. Invariably the first objects of unpopularity when political agitations are disturbing these States, the Cardinals have received, within recent years, many stern lessons, and it is not very long since all of them then resident in Rome (two excepted) were obliged to fly, with risks even to life, apprehended if not really existing; yet the reforms so rapturously received in the first period of the present Pontificate, were not, as has been represented, opposed by the entire aggregate of the sacred College; and the virtues and wisdom that distinguish many have been recognised by writers most hostile

to the present government of the Holy See. From the height at which they stand, for the mort part grown grey in the service, and approved worthy of the high honors of the Church, it cannot he supposed they are ignorant of the dangers threatening the Sovereignty that emanates from their ranks, or the oppositions, in the tendencies of the present times, to its administration both in temporal and spiritual bearings.

The original institution of the Sacred College was simple in nature, and purely ecclesiastical in elements. It was formed of the parish priests attached to the principal churches in Rome, and, afterwards, of the regionary Deacons appointed to preside over the establishments with oratories, where alms used to be periodically dispensed to all the poor of this city, these latter being finally enrolled in the same ranks, and first disignated « Cardinal Deacons » in the acts of a Council held at Rome, A. D. 853. That it was simply as parochial Chergy the Cardinals were originally regarded, is farther evinced by the fact that, in various Italian dioceses, besides the Roman, and in France also, the principal pastors used the some style, derived (according to good authorites) from *cardo* (a hinge) in the sense that such are the hinges on which moves the mechanism for the spiritual government of the Church. The term Cardinal was also applied to the chief ministers in the court of Theodosius, and probably first adopted for ecclesiastical use from the vocabulary of that Oriental court. The precedence now allowed to these dignitaries does not ascend to very early date: at the Council of Clermont, 1095, the first place next the Pope was assigned to the Archbishop of Lyons, after whom ranked the other Prelates, and ofter these the Cardinals. Great changes must have taken place, in laws of precedence, ere the latter could rank before Princes of the blood, as they were allowed to do in France till towards the end of the XVI cen-

tury; and to this day, in Rome, they are theoretically placed before royalty itself. Even that highest of royal prerogatives, the extending of mercy to the condemned, still portains to them in Rome, though never exercised, as it is recorded to have been, for the last time, in France, 1309, when the Cardinal of St. Eusebius, meeting a criminal on his way to the scaffold in Paris, granted him pardon and life. In Italy the Pope cannot proceed judicially against Cardinals, save in cases of lese-majesty, heresy or schism; and though capital punishment has been inflicted, recently as the XVI century (1), on heads thus exalted, no prosecution can be legally instituted against them by the Pontiff without cognisance, acquiescence and personal assistance of all the other Cardinals in Rome. Under this government they are also exempted, unless included by name, from all penal laws, and public taxes, ordinary or extraordinary.

It was not till the XI century that the principal Clergy, the regionary Deacons, and suffragan Bishops of the Roman province, became classed collectively as Cardinals, though evidence of the three Orders being considered to form a species of College exists of an earlier date. Nor was it till 1179 that their exclusive privelege as electors of the Pope was confirmed and appropriated to them, by Alexander III, in the third Lateran Council. Previously the popular element had been allowed to enter into those elections; and it is an important feature, in the earlier Constitution of the Papacy, that, as this mighty Power was bent on promoting its ascendancy and credit by generously espousing popular interests, taking side with the weak rather than with the stro-

(1) Cardinal Caraffa, and his brother the Duke of Palliano were put to death, in the Castle of S. Angelo, by order of Pius IV, for offences and abuses of power under the Pontificate of their uncle, Paul IV.

ny, the oppressed subjects rather than their arrogant rulers, so was it ready to grant a degree of momentum to the popular will in those solemn Comitia when the succession to its own supreme seat had to be determined. The decree of Nicholas II, promulgated in a Roman Council, 1059, is sufficiently explicit: « On the death of the Pope, the Cardinal Bishops shall first form themselves into a council, to which the other Cardinals shall then be aggregated: they shall pay regard to the wishes of the rest of the Clergy, *and of the Roman people.* If the Roman Clergy should not comprise any subject suitable, then only will it be necessary to elect a stranger, which should in no manner preclude the paying respect and honour to the future Emperor, or demanding the confirmation of the Pontific Election from him who has obtained the right of the Holy See. » This decree was passed whilst Hildebrand, the great restorer of the Papacy as Gregory VII, was the inspiring *animus* of his predecessor's counsels; and his own election, conformably with the principle here defined, is narrated in the following words by a modern historian: « Scarcely had Alexander II been interred when the Roman people and clergy cried out with one voice, It is Hildebrand whom Peter elects for his successor! The Cardinals, to conform to the decree of Nicholas II, then gave their consent to this popular election. » (Alzog. *Hist. Univ. de l'Eglise* v. 11, p. 266.).

Till the XV century a recognised political existence was not fully confirmed to the Sacred College, which, even at that period, incurred the risk of being absolutely annihilated, when it was proposed before the Council of Constance whether, as the Cardinalate was neither instituted by Christ nor by the first General Councils, it should not be altogether set aside? — not that the Council seems to have really entertained the project of so bold an innovation. Not long previously, the reforms attempted by Urban VI (1378 89) had

threatened the personal independance of the Cardinals, with restrictions descending to such minute particulars as may excite a smile, however disagreeable to the parties concerned. Urban desired that their Eminences should be contented with a single dish at their meals — *de quo* (adds the annalist of Forli) *scandalizati fuerunt nimium domini Cardinales.* It was at an earlier period that, after a disastrous vacancy of the Holy See for nearly three years, Gregory X (elected at Viterbo, 1271) ordered that, after three days in Conclave, the Cardinals, if still undecided, should be limited to a single dish at their meals, and after the lapse of five days more, if no election had taken place, to bread, wine, and water for their sole fare. This constitution of Gregory ordered that strict reclusion, ever since observed in the Conclave — *ita claudatur ut nullus illuc entrare valeat vel exire;* but subsequently, its prescriptions were much modified, and another vacancy was prolonged for nearly two years after the death of Nicholas IV, 1292. Motives of self-defence, if not ambition, urged the Cardinals, naturally enough, to provide for their future immunity and prerogatives, when opportunity offered, in the first Conclave after the Council of Constance (1431), and a convention was then drawn up, which each pledged himself to observe by oath, in case of being assumed to the Pontificate. All subscribed this solemn engagement, the first article of which imported that the Pope should reform the Roman Curia in its head and members, whensoever, and to whatever degree the Sacred College should demand — *quod Curiam Romanam in capite et membris reformabit* etc. (Raynaldi, an. 1431) Conformably with this pledge, the newly elected Eugenius IV. accorded to the Cardinals a right of participation in temporal sovereignty, deliberative and consultative votes in temporal affairs, community in the revenues of State, legal security of person and property. Another convention was drawn up and sworn to, in the Con-

clave of 1523, in a sense honorable to the principles that animated these Princes of the Church, and proving their earnestness for the eradication of abuses, one among its articles importing, that no Cardinal should be created at the pleasure of king or Emperor, unless of the age of 30 complete, and holding the degree of doctorate in sacred letters or law, or, at least, if of royal family, possessed of competent literary attainment — that if Cardinals were created during the illness of the Pontiff, and his death should supervene within 20 days, such creations should be null (1). The forms and symbols attaching to this rank, became gradually what we see at the present day. Till the middle of the XIII century, Cardinals used to go on foot in processions, but were then desired, by Innocent IV, to appear on horseback; and besides the honors of the Cavalcade, that Pontiff bestowed on them, ot the Council of Lyons, 1245, as insignin *par excellence* of their office, the Scarlet Hat, not made to be worn, but simply preserved as their symbol, which, in Rome, is usually hung up, after its owner's decease, in the church from which he has derived his title. The scarlet robes were amplified by Paul II, whose taste for pomp amounted to a passion, and who desired his Cardinals should not only be enveloped in the sacred *porpora* sufficiently for their own persons, but also for covering their horses or mules when abroad (v. Platina) (2). In Raffael's pictures we

(1) A document remarkable also for the excommunication denounced against the abusive concession of Indulgences, under pretext of raising funds for the building of St. Peter's : *eisque* (the Friars) *mandabo sub pena excommunicationis latae sententiae ne illis ulterius ullo modo utantur* — first published in the *Giornale degli Archivi Toscani*, vol. II.

(2) Platina's assertion that Paul II *invented* this Costume can only be taken in a restricted sense, as we see it in various paintings of

see this superb costume of almost exactly the same fashion as at present, with the hood worn over the head, under the broad-brimmed hat, when the personage is represented on horseback (Vatican fresco of the meeting between Leo and Attila). The intent to signify, in this colour, readiness to shed their blood in the Church's service, has been proposed for explanation; but, more probably, the preference for the colour as *imperial* may be accounted for by the traditions of ancient Rome, which classed highest among the shades of purple what the English designates *scarlet*. Pius IX has been active in the creation of Cardinals, but the number of deaths (between 30 and 40) has almost kept pace with that of appointments in their ranks under this Pontificate. Following out a wiser principle than his predecessor, he has not confined to a few nationalities the choice of subjects for these honors, which it was expressly desired by the Council of Trent should be impartially distributed over all Catholic nations — notwithstanding which injunction, Gregory XVI had raised to the Cardinalate fifty, living at the time of his death, of whom not only was the immense majority Italian, but no fewer than 30 from the much narrower limits of his, the Pontiff's, own States! In early ages a triple publication of the parties chosen, used to be read from the altars of the chief Basilicas, in the last instance at St. Peter's, by the Pope himself, with invitation to speak, if any present had objection to urge against the nominee. In recent years, regard for the moral and hierarchic dignity of this office, has uniformly guided the choice entirely dependant on the will of the Pontiff; though one must regret that precedent should have been allowed to establish a principle so *unspiritual* (to say the least) as its bestowal in a mere way of routine, to form the complement to a series of

earlier date, among others*, the frescoes of Orcagna at S. Maria Novella, Florence.

preferments in certain prelatic careers (1). The Cardinalate was, indeed, too often bestowed, in ages past, less suitably; we need not be surprised at its prostitution by a Borgia on behalf of his graceless son (who, however, soon renounced), or the yet unprecedented example set by Innocent VIII in giving it to the boy of 13, who afterwards became Leo X; but it is deplorable to find, at dates so recent, in the last century, the unworthy condescension that granted it to claimants such as Dubois and Rohan, and submitted to the humours of a haughty Queen, to the length of giving, first the wealthiest Archbishopric of Spain, and afterwards the Cardinal's Hat, to an « Infant » (in every sense of that term) aged seven! (2)

Such examples, which the historian, however penetrated with reverence for the Holy See and its virtuous occupants, is bound, in the service of truth, to dwell on, show how often, even to Pontiffs of the best intentions and purest character, that temporal power vaunted by many as the safeguard of dignity and independance, has only proved a source of compromising embarrassments, greatly to be lamented for the Papacy! Cardinals were not certainly desired, according to the primitive intentions of the Church, to become warriors or statesmen; the examples of a Richelieu and Alberoni are scarcely less unworthy, confronted with the pure ideal, than those of Albornoz and Ruffo. An early writer, eulogising the merits most becoming to their station, desi-

(1) Pius IX is understood to have objected to this system, and so did Leo XII — see Cardinal Wiseman's « Recollections of the last four Popes ».

(2) Clement XII at first resisted, but finally yielded, to the demands of Philip V, urged by the ambitious Elisabeth Farnese, who, not finding it possible to grasp a crown for her *third* son, thus directed, on his behalf, her maternal solicitudes so marvellously successful.

gnates the Cardinals of his time as « men filled with mercy, whose ears are ever open to cries of distress from the poor, to the sighs of the unfortunate, and whom the Lord has chosen for protectors of the orphan, for arbiters in defence of the widow » (Alzog v. II. 357.)

The idea of sublime spiritual duties attaching to their office is remarkably attested by a Prince, great part of whose reign was passed in hostility to the Holy See — Frederic II. — who, in a letter dated 1239 (produced by Matthew Paris), owns that, as CHRIST founded His Church on a rock, in St. Peter, so he constituted successors to His Apostles in the Cardinals. John VIII., many centuries before Frederic, A. D. 872, addressing himself to this Apostolic College, reminded them, that as he represented Moses, so they represented the seventy Elders chosen by Divine command to assist the lawgiver of the ancient dispensation; and a Bull of Sixtus V. speaks of the Cardinals as standing in the place of the Apostles, by ministering to His Vicar, as they ministered to the Redeemer. Pius V. abolished, in 1567, a practice leading to the confusion of the Sacred College with lower hierarchic bodies, which previously had prevailed to general extent — namely, the assuming of the title Cardinal by the superior clergy of various Cathedral-churches, as all the Canons of Milan, Ravenna, Naples, and Cologne; the Pontiff now decreed, that henceforth no church should arrogate to itself the institution of Cardinals save the Roman, and that creations of such rank should proceed only and immediately from Papal authority. The number constituting the Sacred College has been various at different epochs; but its restriction to seventy, in mystic reference to the counsellors of Moses, was positively ruled by a Bull of Sixtus V. (1585), when this was prescribed as a principle, and the College classified into six Bishops, fifty Priests, fourteen Deacons. Previously to this the question had remained undefined, and the principle

mutable. On the death of Clement VI., 1352, the assembled Cardinals decreed that their number should not exceed twenty — but of course without the sovereign sanction, that never ratified such decision. Pius IV prescribed by bull the maximum of 40. Urban VIII, in the course of his long pontificate, created 74; Pius VII not fewer than 98, yet at the Conclave after his death were only 49 Cardinals. It would be erroneous to infer, from the outward splendour and cumbrous ceremonial attached to this rank, that the private existence of the Cardinals is all gilded with pomp and steeped in luxury. Much is required for the external, little left to private purposes. Lately drawn up statistics have shown that, in our times, the spiritual needs of 203,728,000 Catholics, over the whole earth, are provided for at a cost per annum of 248,725,000 francs, while the Anglican Clergy, alone among Protestant ministries, receive 236,489,125 francs for spiritual services rendered to only 6,500,000 souls. In like proportion is the difference between the revenues of the high functionaries of Catholicism, in Rome, and those of the national Church in England; and if a few great Prelates, in other Catholic countries, still enjoy large incomes, they form the exception, not the rule, in the picture of the ancient Hierarchy since the first French Revolution. The income of a Cardinal, simply as such, who resides in the Papal States, is 4,000 scudi a year: though if he hold a bishopric, abbacy, or other benefice, or office of Government, the revenue attached to such, of course, brings augmentation of his means. With the state they must keep up (as two carriages, livery servants, chaplain, secretary, etc.), many of the Sacred College have little at their disposal; and some have died so poor that it has been found necessary to defray their funeral expenses out of the Treasury, or the privy purse of the Sovereign. Even the seven Cardinals of the Order of Bishops, suffragans of Rome, have not (abatement being

made of obligatory, and official expense) any great superfluity; and I am assured, on creditable authority, that about 500 scudi a year is all that remains in the private purse even of the most exalted among these ecclesiastical Princes! Nor need we be surprised at such exemplification of the principle of Catholicism, whose aim is to surround with lustre the spiritual *idea* attached to the office, the moral of the dignity personified — not to aggrandise the individual, or administer to the pride of family. Consistently with this, have the circumstances attending the interment of a Cardinal been prescribed by the Church with such careful regard to the dignity of their office who are the immediate counsellors and electors of the Sovereign Pontiff; and in Rome these funereal solemnities are imposing. An instance of the anxiety shown by the Popes to invest them with public pomp is found in the annals of Urban V., who, in 1367, conceded a plenary indulgence to all who should assist in supporting the bier of the celebrated Cardinal Albornoz, for any part of the distance on its convoy from Viterbo, where he died, to Toledo, where he had desired to be interred, in his native country.

When it is apparent that a Cardinal, in Rome, is approaching the hour of nature's last conflict, his *maestro di camera* repairs to the Apostolic Palace to receive, on behalf of the dying, the Papal benediction, *in articulo mortis*; after he has expired, the same official returns to inform his Holiness, and, subsequently, intimates the event to the Cardinal Secretary, who sends to the residence of the deceased a messenger authorised to withdraw diplomas, or other documents pertaining to whatever charges he may have held. The Prefect of Pontific Ceremonies sends the « Deputy for the Obsequies of Cardinals » (an officer expressly appointed with this title), to order everything requisite for the funeral, at which it is usual for the Pontiff to intervene, provided it take place in a church where the *cappella* can

be suitably held. After twenty-four hours, the autopsy and embalming of the body take place, and the lying in state commences in the throne-room (with which every Cardinal's residence is supplied), where it is exposed on a couch, with a lofty taper at each angle, vested in the usual robes worn by Cardinals in penitential seasons, when violet is the colour substituted for scarlet; sometimes, however, only the coffin is seen. In another room, altars are erected, where Masses are celebrated by priests invited for the purpose, during each morning that intervenes before interment; and during three hours in the afternoon, the Office for the Dead is recited round the funeral couch by Mendicant Friars and the parochial clergy, Capuchins, Franciscans and parish priests succeeding in these devotions, each for one hour. The Palace, for this period — unless it be that of the Sovereign, in which the Cardinal Secretary invariably, and others of the Sacred College occasionally reside — remains open to the public, with guards at the entrance. On the night of the third day, the funeral convoy leaves, preceded by a piquet of mounted troops, after whom follow the domestics — all carrying torches, and one with the red umbrella, usually laid on the top of a Cardinal's carriage, the coffin being conveyed in a chariot, where are seated beside it the *curato* of the parish, with crucifix, an assistant cleric, and another priest holding a taper; an escort of grenadiers surround this mortuary chariot, and those attached to the household of the deceased follow on foot, with another piquet of troops. At the portal of the church this procession is received by the clergy and the Pontific *Ceremoniere*, with crucifix and tapers. Absolutions are pronounced over the body, which is then removed into the sacristy, where, if the deceased have been of the Order of Bishops or Priests, pontific vestments of violet, with the usual insignia, as for the celebration of Mass, are substituted for the other robes; if of the Order

of Deacons, the dalmatic and other vestments, of red silk; subsequently the body is placed on a catafalque, in the nave of the church, covered with gold brocade, and surrounded by one hundred tapers, with, at each angle, a candelabrum and waving banderole of black, embroidered with the crest of the deceased, at the end of a long wand, the scarlet *berretta* placed at the foot, or (if the body is not exposed) at the head of the catafalque. In the morning the Office of the Dead is recited alternately by Minor Conventuals, Augustinians, Carmelites, Servites, and Dominicans, of each order twelve attending, and the principal servants of the deceased standing as guards of the catafalque, till the Cardinals enter for the *cappella*. If the Pontiff attends, he pronounces the solemn absolutions, after assisting at Requiem High Mass celebrated by a Cardinal. If his Holiness be not present, the absolutions are given by the first Cardinal in dignity. After the solemnity, and when the church has been cleared, the body is again moved into the sacristy, and divested of the costly robes with their ornaments, to which are substituted others, similar in form and colour, of taffety and lace. The mitre of white damask is, however, left on the head, and the pallium (if the deceased have held rank entitling to this symbol) is folded under it. Finally the remains are enclosed in a coffin of pine or cypress, to which a notary affixes five wax seals, in an outer coffin of lead, with the inscription and armorial bearings, to which are affixed six seals of solder — and in another of wood. They are transported at night, with another torchlight attendance, to the titular church of the deceased, or any other chosen for sepulture, unless the vault of interment be under the church where the obsequies are held. On the outer walls of the church are displayed, for several weeks subsequently, the arms of the deceased, with the figure of a skeleton painted on large scrolls of paper, a symbolism, however, not per-

mitted at the patriarchal basilicas, to whose walls only the escutcheon of a deceased Pope is thus fastened, remaining till the election of his successor. The expences of a Cardinal's funeral, in Rome, amount to between 1400 and 1500 Scudi. That most important transaction in which the Sacred College has to provide for the interests of the Catholic world, has, naturally, been surrounded by a fence of punctilio and in every detail conformed to prescription, the Conclave having been reduced to the observances now followed by Gregory XV (1621 3). Since, as for many years past, it has assembled at the Quirinal instead of the Vatican Palace, the Cardinals first meet at the church of St. Sylvester on the Quirinal Hill, and thence proceed together on foot, with their *conclavisti*, a secretary, a chaplain, and one or two servants attending each, to the Papal Palace, For a few hours on the first evening the doors are left open, and the Diplomatic Body, the Aristocracy, indeed any personal acquaintances many visit their Eminences in their several apartments, each being lodged in a small suite of rooms, fitted up for the occasion, and assigned by lot, which altogether, occupy the two upper floors of the long wing of this Palace that flanks an entire street leading to the Porta Pia. After the hour for the closing of Conclave, none can enter except any Cardinal, who may not yet have arrived in Rome, and, on one occasion, the Diplomatic Body, who have fresh credentials to the Conclave, and are received at the *grille* by the three Cardinals, « Heads of Orders, » exercising office, in conjunction with the Camerlingo, during the inter-regnum. To these the spokesman of the Ambassadors makes a formal address, replied to in terms carefully pondered, of course, by the presiding Cardinal. Meantime every access to the Palace is closed, and guarded, judges and prelates of tribunals discharging this duty in turns; relieving each other, day after day: the street on which

this wing of the building looks is barricaded, and guarded by troops at each end: letters to those inside are opened and read before delivery: even the meals of the Cardinals, brought from their houses, must be examined, as they are passed through a tour, like those in the convents of nuns. Daily is held the assembly in the chapel, where proceedings open with the Mass « de Spiritu sancto; » then, after silent deliberation, are deposited in a chalice the votes written on schedules, with the name of each voter, but the latter concealed by the manner in which this document is folded up. This is twice repeated daily, and the examination of votes, or *scrutinio*, made by certain Cardinals at the altar. In the evening, if no majority be yet attained, the schedules are burnt so that the smoke escapes through a flue expressly prepared, and announces to the crowd, always assembled outside the Palace, that as yet there is no election. When it is at last decided, the Pontiff elect is asked if he will accept the sovereignty, and under what name, as since the X century, when the example was set by John XII, it has been usual to assume a new name on ascending the Papal chair, though still, for the signature of the originals of Bulls, the proper baptismal name is written by his Holiness. After being vested pontifically in the chapel, he then receives homage from all present, and the other Cardinals lower the canopy which, during the deliberations, has remained over the stall of each. The Pope in then proclaimed from the balcony by the first Cardinal Deacon. As to the secresy of the Conclave, it is theoretically held to be inviolable, but the irresistibly investigating spirit of modern times, and the all-searching eye of modern History have not been content to leave it actually so. Ranke has supplied many revelations of Conclaves in the XVI and XVII centuries, and Artaud, in his interesting lives of Pius VII, Leo XII, and Pius VIII, gives us a complete picture of the vicissitu-

des of each day during those that resulted in the elections of the same Pontiffs. The words used by Cardinal Giustiniani, in the Conclave of 1831, declaring how gladly he waived the honors of the Tiara almost secured to him, when, of 29 votes requisite for the full majority, 21 had been given in his favor, and the *veto* from Spain alone prevented his almost certain election — this address, honorable to his character and principles, has been preserved and published. (1) The *veto* exercised by the three Catholic Powers, it should be remembered, only avails so long as votes are *converging* to any individud objected against, but loses its force when the full majority has once declared itself, and can only be directed against a single head, on the part of each Power.

The manners of the Cardinals in Rome are, generally speaking, affable and prepossessing, so that one is constrained to own they bear their faculties meekly, like men more absorbed by the sense of the duties than the privileges of high office. At times accessible without the formalities of introduction, there are some of them from whom a gracious reception will be assured to the stranger presenting himself on whatsover reasonable plea for claiming attention or hearing. The public Consistery when the Hat is conferred, always preceded by a private one for proclaiming the new promotion, has been in forms the same during about two centuries past. It takes place either at the Vatican or Quirinal, in the great « Hall of Consistory » with which each Palace is provided, or (at the former) in the *Sala Ducale*, a smaller apartment otherwise unused, so called from having been once appropriated to the reception of Sovereign Dukes. The Consistory has not the character of a religious solemnity, though the Pontiff presides, vested as a Bishop, on his thro-

(1) V. Cardinal Wiseman's *Recollections* ec.

ne: and, indeed, little can be seen, less heard, save by those nearest the circle of guards, or in the elevated tribunes, where diplomatists, other officials, and ladies (required to observe the same etiquette of costume as at Papal ceremonies) have seats. At intervals between those parts of the proceeding more immediately concerning the new Cardinals, a Consistorial Advocate *perorates* (as the expression is) some cause of Beatification, but counsel only on one side is heard, and the « Devil's Advocate, » invariably admitted to plead at another stage of such processes, has no public opportunity of displaying his eloquence. After what passes in the hall, the Te Deum that follows in the Sistine Chapel, commenced by the choir as the assembled Cardinals move thither in procession, and the prayers *super electos*, whilst those newly invested remain prostrate on their faces before the altar, the others kneeling around, more impressively interest, though in the absence of the highest dignity, the Pope having previously retired. At the close follow congratulations offered by all the Cardinals to their new colleagues, with an embrace, generally accompanied by some confidental asides, during which it may be interesting to watch the countenances of those ecclesiastical Princes. In the interval betwen the private and public Consistory, the Cardinal elect repairs, with two or more state carriages and running footmen, to St. Peter's, to return thanks, both at the shrine of the Apostles, and to the Supreme Pastor who has promoted him. In the church the act of thanksgiving passes before the high altar, in silence; in the Palace the reception has the forms of an audience of State; the newly elected makes an address expressive of gratitude and devotedness, and the Pontiff from his throne bestows the scarlet *berretta*, the first symbol of the Cardinalate received. In order to become familiar with the externals, at least, of high society in Rome, no occasion is so convenient or so easily

secured, as the public receptions of a new Cardinal, two of which are held on successive nights, without the necessity for any interduction, for ladies or gentlemen, save evening dress or uniform. In the stately halls of some palace always (if his Eminence have no residence of his own in the city) lent for the occasion by some patrician family, or by a diplomatic minister when Cardinals of the same nationality are concerned, are held these receptions, usually crowded to excess for a few hours, the new Cardinal standing in the principal room, not in robes of state, but in his simpler costume, to receive the congratulations, either in a few words, a bow, or a kiss of the hand, from all entering. The phantasmagoria of aristocratic and official state at Rome (the city *par excellence* of conventional distinctions) is to be seen at no time with fuller display of pomp and insignia, its blaze of jewelery on fair heads and bosoms, its galaxy of stars and museum of orders on laced coats and embroidered uniforms. Princesses with *parures* of diamonds, knights of Malta, of St. Maurice, St. Gregory, St. Sylvester, the violet, sable and scarlet of the Church, the uniforms; military and diplomatic, of almost all armies and governments — such are the elements now blent in brilliant confusion. Of course *society*, in the stricter sense, there is none on these occasions; it is a *grande représentation*, a social pageant, but nothing more. Interesting, in a quieter style, and usually much more select, is the *private* reception, on the third night, after the public Concistory, to which is admission only by invitation, though the slightest introduction, either to the Cardinal, or to the patrician lady who invariably does the honors each of these three evenings, may suffice for securing that privilege. The sacred Hat is now brought from the Papal Palace, and delivered, with a formal address, by the *Maestro di Camera* of the Pope. The Cardinal appears in robes of state, and, after receiving the

Maestro at the head of the staircase, stands under the canopy of a throne, within whose crimson hangings appears a picture of the Pontiff, while the prelate of the Court delivers his speech, brief, and of course conventional, though alveays neatly und appropriately worded, to which his Eminence replies, using either Italian, French, or Latin, though always addressed by the *Maestro* in the first of those languages. His speech, being the intended expression of the sentiments and principles with which his new dignity is assumed, and its responsabilities appreciated, it naturally expatiates at some length, being often admirably sustained, and sometimes affecting. None that were present could forget the dignity and felicitous expression of such distinguished Cardinals as those now occupying the first places among the English and French Clergy; or the patriarchal earnestness of the Capuchin, Recanati, on an occasion which, contrasting the splendours of reception, at the Sacra Consulta Palace, with the antecedent career of the that saintly man in a lowly and self-mortified Religious Order, seemed, in his case, strikingly to illustrate the workings of the great-system that so often raises merit from obscurity, exalting them of low degree, if not now (as formerly) « pulling down the mighty from their seats » with equal prompitude and decision. After these formalities, the symbolic Hat being displayed on a table before the dais, a loud voice is heard, with the peremptory words, from a cheplain, *extra omnes!* and all must retire into the other rooms, leaving the Cardinal alone with the Prelate, when the latter receives some present, the perquisite of office, and afterwards is accompained by the former, preceded by torch-bearing servants, to the head of the stairs for a ceremonious leave-taking. The Cardinal then returns, in private costume, to mingle among his guests for the rest of the evening; refreshments are served, and the conversazione is prolonged as pleasently, and with about as little

restraint as can be expected in the assemblies of high life. On each of these evenings, military bands perform outside the palaces where receptions are held; the approaches are guarded by soldiers, and many public buildings are illuminated — demonstrations peculiar to this City, and significant of the importance attaching *here* to an event which, in fact, adds to the number of those eligible for the sovereignty both of Church and State (1).

(1) How exalted the position assigned to the Cardinals in the XV century, appears in the Decree for the union of the Greek and Latin Churches, at the Council of Florence, where we find their signatures, even when only deacons, preceding those of Archbishops and Patriarchs.

SYMBOLS, CEREMONIES, AND FESTIVALS.

Il faut bien mal connoître le Christianesme, c'est à dire, la révélation des lois morales de l'homme et de l'univers, pour recommander à ceux qui veulent y croire, l'ignorance, le secret, et les ténèbres. Ouvrez les portes du temple; appelez à votre secours le génie, les beaux arts, les sciences, la philosophie; rassemblez-les dans un même foyer pour honorer et comprendre l'Auteur de la creation; et si l'amour a dit que le nom de celui qu'on aime semble gravé sur les feuilles de chaque fleur, comment l'empreinte de Dieu ne serait-elle pas dans toutes les idées qui se rallient à la chaine eternelle!

MME DE STAEL.

There are different aspects in which the Catholic observances or Ritual may be regarded, and to many the most interesting is that where illustration of Christian thought and sentiment displays itself, connected with the progress of society or developments of Art. Immutability is an attribute claimed for the Church as her distinction and glory — and in one sense most justly: but, on the other hand, we perceive in her a most flexile power of self-adaptation, a sagacious appreciation of circumstances, that enables her to reconcile

her system from age to age, with moral or intellectual, national or political conditions. This it seems at present peculiarly just to advance in her defence, and establish for the interest of her cause, as may easily be done by investigation of the records and evidence left by the Past. For at the present day, it must be owned, there exists, at least in Southern Europe, a restless feeling of the necessity for change in Christian usages, an increasing alienation from ancient ecclesiastical institutions; and though these tendencies may refer rather to the accidental than essential, to the exoteric rather than esoteric qualities in Catholicism, it is certainly better to convince than to condemn, to examine, than to despise whatever reasonable demands may be presented. Within recent years, too, remarkable manifestations of this sense of a high ideal yet to be attained, a modification of energies yet to be expected from the Church, have appeared, and, in each instance, from the pen, not of any hotheaded demagogue, or inexperienced visionary, but from venerable Catholic ecclesiastics of recognised abilities and learning, superior position and blameless character: the one a work of Hirscher, Canon of the Cathedral of Freiburg, on the present Circumstances of the Church (translated from German into English by the title « Our Sympathies with the Continent. ») the other by Rosmini, « Le cinque Piaghe della Chiesa » (The Five Wounds of the Church ») — both men distinguished for contributions to ecclesiastical literature, and the latter the first philosophical mind of modern Italy, the founder of an illustrious Religious Order, and once destined by Pius IX for the honours of the Cardinalate.

If the mechanism of sacred pomps, if any part of the mystic symbolism mited to other ages no longer appeal with quickening power to the immost heart of humanity, no longer satisfy the cultivated, even if still adhered to by the

rude and ignorant, can reflective men hesitate to recommend that what has survived its purpose should be set aside or modified? Let the scaffolding be taken down, when the completed edifice no longer needs its interposition or support. Appropriate, elaborate, and guided by the instinct of the Beautiful as Catholicism in its ritual has ever been, it may yet be observed how many the changes, of omission or admission, how many alterations to suit the varying manners or ideas of the time, have been adopted at different periods in her history; and if such policy have proved just and admirable in the Past, should not its principle be alike recommended and applied for the Present? Not as the life or soul, but as the word of conventional expression, are the externals of worship and discipline to the Infinitely True; and the casket containing the jewel may be altered or variously adorned without in any slightest degree affecting the pure resplendence or priceless value of that indwelling Divine. On the pages of medieval story the outward system of the Church, for the most part, diplays splendid and impressive, but sometimes startling and self-contradictory characters, alike worthy attention for lessons conveyed:

> « Uncouth proximities of old and new,
> And bold transfigurations, more untrue,
> As it should seem, to disciplined intent,
> Than aught the sky's fantastic element,
> When most fantastic, offers to our view. »

The public penances before large congregations, the prostrations in sack-cloth and ashes; the Ordeals by fire or water; the scourging of king Henry at the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury; the three days humiliation and fasting of the Emperor, exposed to wintry cold in the outer court of Matilda's castle, during the pleasure of Gregory VII; the Indulgences of the Crusades and consecration of Knighthood; the vigil of Arms; Miracle Plays acted in Churches, or on pu-

blic places for religious anniversaries; the awful fulminations of Interdicts and anathemas; the public condemnation or punishment of heretics — are not the only ecclesiastical incidents or usages that now belong to the Past; but other practices, other expressions of the religious spirit or sympathies, once cherished, solemn and elaborated, also remain to be classed, if not with « things violently destroyed, » at least with those « silently gone out of mind. »

Various were the rites or spectacles of the pageant-loving Middle Ages among which might be mentioned, as no longer in usage — some brilliant and picturesque, others historically significant, others simply ludicrous, if not profane. In medieval Rome was much honored the procession of the antique Image of the Saviour, from the *Sanctum Sanctorum* at the Lateran Palace, in a costly shrine, which on different occasions passed through the streets, receiving, among other marks of devotion, an ablution of rose water at certain churches where it rested on the way — a practise now, like others of the same spirit and epoch, judiciously discontinued. At the festival of St. George, in Sienna, an armed knight went through a show of combating with a mimic dragon, till the applauses of the people announced his imaginary victory. At that of St. Martha, in Tarascon, used to be given a dramatic representation of the legend that ascribed to her (as to St. Margaret) the destruction of a Dragon, by virtue of the Cross: a procession attended by the clergy was met by a figure representing the monster (called « Tarasco ») which proceeded from the hotel de ville, surrounted by pages in rose coloured and white costume; a beam formed the Dragon's tail, whose « scaly horrors » he kept swinging about to the peril of all rashly approaching, and every species of Saturnalian absurdity, practical jokes, drinking to wager or by compulsion, was permitted in the streets for this anniversary. At Rouen the

feast of St. Romanus was more worthily honoured: every 28th October a convict under sentence of death being conducted with pomp to the church, where he had to lift up the shrine containing the relics of that Saint, after which he received the pardon that saved life. At Poitiers was annually offered by the citizens a mantle of the finest silk, which the wife of the Mayor threw over the image of the Blessed Virgin, to commemorate the tradition of that city having been saved, when on the point of being betrayed to English besiegers by a Mayor, who was proceeding out of the gates by night, when the keys he carried fell with a noise that roused the guards, thus thwarting and exposing his guilty purpose.

At Vicenza took place, on Corpus Domini day, what was called the *Festa della Rua*: an immense machine containing persons in curious costume with banners, standards etc. was drawn by men through the streets — said to be the reminiscence of some vaguely recorded event in municipal story. — Another pageant, for the same occasion, was instituted by Réné king of Province, which lasted for eight days, with processions of maskers, each group headed by one representing a different class in society: a « Prince of love, » for the nobles, dressed in silk and cloth of gold, with velvet cap and plumes, lace collar and sword; a « Roi de la Basoche » for the legal profession, whose garb was serge and ermine; another personage for the people, each representative attended by courtiers, heralds etc. Afterwards followed the Olympic Deities, and characters from the Scriptures, among whom walked the three Magi guided by a star, the 12 Apostles, the Queen of Sheba, with a groom carrying a pasteboard castle at the point of a sword (may be intended for the allegoric castle of Chastity that figured in another medieval pageant?), Herod pursued and tormented by Devils (doubtless very comical personages); and finally, political masks,

allusive to episodes in the story of the Provençal wars. (Cantù, « Storia Universale ») Nothing shows more curiously the confusion of the profane with the sacred in the medieval mind, than those mummeries sometimes permitted to take place in churches, sometimes even (stranger still) enacted by priests or deacons. On certain anniversaries in France all persons, prelates, magistrates, whatever their dignity, had to appear in the disguise of *foxes*, ar at least with some adjunct proper to the vulpine figure, as the tail peeping out of whatever garment was worn behind, the snout and ears concealing the features of humanity! At Paris the malicious Philip le Bel, in his hostility against the Holy See, used to take special delight in an ecclesiastical maskerade where a living fox, in pontifical robes, with the triple crown on its head, was led about *by the clergy*, birds being placed at intervals within reach, so that the animal, forgetting the high dignity he represented, might be sure to pounce upon and devour them! Still more generally observed was the fête of asses, though it was in the Cathedral of Rouen alone its celebration was carried to a climax. This took place on Christmas-day, with intent of commemorating the flight into Egypt. Some pretty girl was chosen to be mounted on a palfrey richly caparisoned, and thus conducted to the church, with a baby-doll in her arms, attended by the Clergy, some of whom undertook to personify biblical characters, the Prophets, Balaam, Nebuchadnezar, Iohn the Baptist — also the Sibyl — in the procession. The favoured damsel remained beside the altar while mass was sung, during which all the chants of the choir terminated in a general braying: instead of the *Ite, missa est*, came a bray — instead of *amen* in response, a bray. The « poor helpless foal of an oppressed race » (as Coleridge humanely calls it) on this occasion was made the subject of ecclesiastical panegyric, after which a hymn was sung in honour of the Ass! On Innocents Day, in some churches,

the choir and entire sanctuary were abandoned to the pranks of little boys, engaged to serve mass, and their playmates, who were allowed to put on the sacred vestments, inside out, upside down, torn or tumbled, any how, and to bawl out antiphons and collects profanely improvised from choir-books opened the wrong way! At the Cathedral of Seville, to this day, for the Corpus Domini festival, after vespers a company of young men engaged by the administration, exhibit, in romantic costume, a ballet-performance that might satisfy the public of an Italian Opera-house, a temporary platform before the high altar being their stage, and the Archbishop and Chapter among their spectators-an observance of the 19th century which may diminish our surprise in reading how, of old, in Germany, the priest who had celebrated his first Mass used, if his mother were living, to descend from the altar and immediately lead her out to dance, making the tour of the entire church with the venerable lady in this ecclesiastical *pas-à-deux*! The graver and beautiful custom which now prevails, on similar occasions, for all worshippers to approach the altar and kiss the hand of the priest, there seated after first celebration, is indeed contrasted with this consecrated frolic! Till late in the past century was Ascension Day distinguished at Venice by the grand civic and historic spectacle of the Espousals of the Sea, also by a general fair with maskerading, continued several days and nights, at which period was annually exhibited a doll dressed in the style to serve as model for female fashions during that year — a sensible device both of restraining the passion for novelty and giving force to the laws of the tyrant Mode. (see Gozzi's prose works) Miracle plays, or Mysteries, were a most curious adoption into the service of Religion of what the Church had first condemned as absolutely anti-christian. The Theatre seems to have been considered, in early ages, an institution essentially Pagan,

and all connected whit it, infamous. We read of an actor, in Heathen Rome, who, while engaged in a part intended to ridicule the Sacraments of the Church, was suddenly struck by Divine Grace, declared himself a convert, and became a Martyr! In much later times the profession has been still frowned on, and the refusal of Christian burial to actors was retained in some countries till quite recent date. Yet while on one hand repulsion, on the other attraction was operating on the mind of the Church. Many of the early Fathers, Greek and Latin, denounced the stage and its artists; but in the 13th century the greatest of schoolmen, St. Thomas Aquinas, relaxed the prohibition so far as to acknowledge that amusement was necessary to man's well-being, and that a decent exercise of the histrionic art might be commended. A curious tract, « The Stage Condemned » published 1698, is cited by Disraeli (« Curiosities of Literature ») which contains a collection of the opinions of the Fathers. Even in primitive ages, the dramatic, though without use of scenic machinery, became admitted among the means of producing religious effect. St. Gregory of Nazianzen wrote a tragedy on the sufferings of the Redeemer, « Christus Patien; » and so early as the 3rd century, one Ezeckiel made the story of Moses the subject of a drama. St. Gregory of Tours narrates that at the funeral of the sainted Queen Radegonda (VI century) about 200 persons sung (or chanted) a scene in dialogue. The taste became confirmed, and interest intensified after the Crusades, when Pilgrims from the Holy Places aimed at representing the events on which they had meditated in the actual scene of their occurrence: for this purpose were chosen situations with some local analogy to Bethlehem or Jerusalem, and dresses were prepared like those familiar to the traveller in Oriental parts. From the XII to the XV century reigned the mystical Drama, attended with spectacular pomps by no means desplicable, as a recog-

nised institution, favoured, sometimes even personally supported by the Clergy. Mathew Paris speaks of a representation of the story of St. Catherine at London, early in the XII century, the work of one Godfrey, Abbot of St. Alban's. The earliest known miracle Play in England was the « Harrowing of Hell, » written in the reign of Edward II. In 1338 an English monk, named Ralph Higden, put forth Mysteries in the vulgar tongue, after travelling to Rome expressly to obtain the sanction of the Pope for producing these holy entertainments in the vernacular. Anciently they had been known to our countrymen only in the Latin, as declaimed in Monasteries, and when increasing audiences required greater space, in the churches, or sometimes even in cemeteries. In 1180 such performances were publicly given in London, but later their revival in the vulgar tongue became naturally more popular; and in 1417 an « English Mystery » was exhibited before the Emperor Sigismund at Constance, during the sessions of the Council, on the favourite subject of the Nativity (1). Under Edward VI and Mary, the Miracle Plays seem to have become a sort of touchstone of principles tending to one or the other side, in ecclesiastical partisanship. The Protestant Prince and his courtiers looked upon them as « Romish spectacles » to be discountenanced. Mary and her counsellors thought otherwise; now the clergy sanctioned, and public authorities patronised the dramatised biblical production. On Corpus Christi Day the Lord Mayor and Privy Council were spectators of the « Passion of Christ; » and for St. Olave's festival, the Miracle Play on that Saint's history was performed in the London church dedicated to him. Earlier than

(1) Roscoe considers that to no English composition properly to be styled Drama can be assigned earlier date than 1500, and that all those more ancient performances were merely spectacular shows, without regular dialogue. — *Life of Lorenzo di Medici*, *note* 181.

this, the Interludes, a medium between sacred and profane theatricals, had become influential (to the alarm of one or other party) on the religious feelings of the English populace; and Henry VIII is said to have been greatly diverted, in 1527, by an Interlude where Luther and his wife were brought on the stage, with many witicisms at the expense of the heretical. (*Curiosities of Literature*) Leboeuf speaks of a Mystery performed under the Emperor Henry I, where Virgil united with the Prophets in the adoration of Christ. At Rome, in 1264, was instituted the Confraternity of the Gonfalone, expressly to represent the Passion of our Lord. The Canons of Treviso were obliged to provide annually the services of two clerics instructed in singing, to perform the parts of Mary and the Angel at the Annunciation Festival. An account exists of the acting of the Passion in a field near Padua, 1244; and in the same city it was authoritatively decreed, 1331, that every year should be acted in the Amphitheatre the Mystery of the Annunciation. At Friuli, in 1298, the Passion, the Resurrection, the Descent of the Holy Ghost, and the Last Judgment, were all represented by the Clergy in the Palace of the Venetian Patriarch; and in 1304, the Creation, the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Passion, the Coming of Antichrist, were acted by the Chapter of the Cathedral of Cividale! Late in the XV century, similar sacred plays were performed, with high sanction, even at Rome: thus in 1473, the Queen Eleonore of Arragon being here on a royal progress, Cardinal Pietro Riario gave an entertainment in which appeared as « dramatis personae » the Saviour descending into Limbo, St. John Baptist, St. James, and Susanna; again, in 1392, when tidings had arrived of the taking of Granada, that Cardinal had the event represented in his palace. The Parable of the ten Virgins was another favorite scriptural subject among those dramatised; the coming of Antichrist appears to have been specially popular, sometimes with pageantry

introducing the Pope, the Emperor, various kings, and the Jewish Synagogue personified. So late as 1739 (says Disraeli, quoting Spence's « Anecdotes ») a Mystery called « The Damned Soul » was publicly acted by a company of strollers at Turin; but there is an example much more recent, which I regret being only able to refer to from memory, as reported in periodicals of the time — the performance, in 1847, of a Miracle Play in the open air, near a town of the Tyrol, with great outlay of expense and a multitudinous corps dramatique, this attraction bringing countless spectators from far and near, to witness a revival, unique for the 19th century. In ancient times Coventry was one of the English towns celebrated for the splendour and scale of its Miracle Entertainments; and I can remember being told by a learned ecclesiastic of that place, versed in such subjects, that among documents he had seen, was one registering, among other items of theatrical properties for the Mystery stage — « a coat for God. »

A worship of splendid and mystically beautiful forms is undoubtedly suited to direct meditation to the Infinite, to inspire with high-toned fervour, or a contemplative melancholy-effects often manifest even when consent is not given by the will or intellect to demands on belief or practice. In the literature of various countries and ages may be traced the influences on imagination and feeling of a ceremonial backed by such lofty claims, as the Catholic, which has indeed interwoven itself with the multitude of associations — « an indistiguishable throng, » inevitably acting, more or less, upon minds of sensiblity, upon characters serious and enthusiastic. The early Latin Poets of Christianity were imbued with the ideas derived from the worship, as well as from the faith, of their Church; and those hymns later adapted for public services, contributed by Pontiffs, or distinguished theologians, have a character of lyric grandeur with finely condensed expression of devotional meanings. Hymns

are referred to in the new Testament as part of worship in Apostolic times: Pliny, in his report to Trajan, such valuable testimony from a Heathen respecting the primitive Christians, says they used to assemble before daybreak every Sunday, and sing hymns (*carmen*) to Christ « as to a God. » An anonymous writer of the 3rd century, refuting the heresiach Artemones, refers to the hymns then in use by the Church, because they also witnessed to the faith in Christ as truly Man and truly God. The first composer of Hymns in the Greek Church was St. Hierotheus, mentioned by Eusebius as flourishing in the first century. In the Latin church, St. Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, is, according to common opinion, the first writer of hymns and canticles for public worship. From the time of St. Ambrose the usage of singing prevailed in the church of Milan, and the hymns by that Saint became so celebrated that, for some centuries, they alone were sung in public worship; and it appears from the rule of St. Benedict that the hymn itself, as a recognised part of worship, was then called *Ambrosian*. The same Saint, and Prudentius, composed most of the hymns now contained in the Breviary. The Council of Tours in the VI, of Toledo in the VIII century, refer to the hymns generally recived by the Church as still called Ambrosian; and the latter Council permitted the use of hymns generally, with the sole restriction that they should be the composition of learned approved writers. The Parisian Church, subsequently celebrated for the beauty of its hymnology, did not admit this form of worship till a period comparatively modern; and even in 1472 the first edition of the Paris Breviary contained not one hymn: at Lyons and Vienne their introduction is still much rarer than in the Roman ritual. The office of hymnographer, usually given to some distingiushed ecclesiastic, is still kept up among those pertaining to the court in Rome.

As to the merits of ancient devotional poems, St. Am-

brose's hymns were certainly the finest effussions of purely Christian inspiration the Church had yet given birth to. A symbolisation of the works of nature is found in them, supplying quite a new element for poetry — The visible world there contemplated is the mirror of Deity, its forms consecrated into types of the Divine architect. The sentiment of one spiritual presence pervading all things, one centre towards which all converge, is the principle in those poems that naturally proceeds from and announces a Religion essentially monotheistic. No poet could be called more purely religious than Prudentius. The idea of Deity is the very source of his inspiration; and the muse appears in him, setting aside all the associations of Paganism, to find in the contemplation of Divine Unity the treasurehouse of thought, feeling and imagery. Immortality, existence glorified amid the company of Angels, in the light and presence of God, these were the objects on which the mind of Prudentius habitually dwelt, drawing thence themes to elevate, to move or delight. The earthly beautiful is only referred to as consecrated to the expression of divine truth; amid the splendours of the Christian temple, the magnificence of nature is only remembered because affording types of creative Might and Love. His Poem on the Passion of St. Agnes is remarkable for its vivid pictures of beatified existence; that on the Martyrdom of Saints Peter and Paul, as testimony to the beauties lavished on the ceremonial and sanctuaries of the Church even thus early; that on St. Laurence, for the sentiment of Roman patriotism, linked with the idea that the Imperial City was still to be Empress of the World, by faith as once by conquest; in that on St. Romanus, Paganism is contrasted in in its darkest, most revolting colours with Christianity. The poetic series called the « Cathemerion, » breathes exalted piety without fanaticism or any touch of *austerity*, and sensibilities for innocent enjoyment of life, tempered by the constant

reference of acts and intentions to Deity. Ausonius (though not a writer of hymns) has been considered the first Latin Poet, in order of time, who could be called Christian, though in imagery, illustration, allusion, completely Pagan. Contrasted with the later Heathen Poets, we see in him at least a purifyng moral influence, a preference for the innocent and artless in enjoyments, a quickness and delicacy of eye, a feeling for the sacred character given by Christianity to the relations of domestic life, as particularly evident in his « Parentalia, » though that Poem contains hardly a sentiment distinctly Christian. Descending to the Middle Ages, we find in the hymns of St. Frances — bursts of rapturous feeling, little influeced by culture, and totally without artistic finish. It his evident that the grand Christian Epic of Dante had its prototype in much earlier literature. In opposition to the chivalrous, but often licentious compositions of the Provençal Troubadours, a species of spiritual Epic had its origin in monasteries, which eventually became very popular, when developed by the *Trouveres* of northern France into more elaborate forms in such poems, produced early in the XIII Cintury, as *La Voie de Paradis — La Voie d'Humilité — Le Pélerinage de l'Homme — Le Songe d'Enfer*, all written under the similitude of dreams, and from the last of which the Inferno is obviously to a degree copied. Guillaume de Guilleville, born at Paris 1295, who became prior of a Bernardine Abbey, and died abont 1360, produced one of the most elaborate of these spiritual Poems under the title, *Le Romaunt de trois Pélerinages*, suggested (he says) by a dream, in which he had beheld the image of the celestial City, and divided into the Pilgrimage of man while in this life, that of the soul separated from the body, and that of our Saviour upon earth, and, as to literary form, modelled on the celebrated « Romaunt of the Rose. » A poetic « Prayer to the Virgin, » published by this writer 1330, is translated by Chaucer in his,

Prière de notre Dame; and John Lydgate, a Benedectine Monk, who died 1440, translated into English the first part of Guilleville's *Pélérinage* two centuries before the leading idea of this poem was reproduced in that favorite prose Epic of the Puritan John Bunyan. The version by Lydgate, two copies of whose MS. were found in the British Museum, recently appeared in London, confronted withe the original, and followed by a careful comparison with the « Pilgrim's Progress, » edited by the late Mr Nathaniel Hill, though not pupblished till after that learned gentleman's death. It is illustrated by many curious wood-cuts, taken from a rare book preserved at Oxford, called « The Book of the Pylgrymage of man; » and this composition, displayng much imagination, with many allusions to monastic life and the religious manners of the time, deserves attention among the manifestations of the religious life in medieval Catholicism. The manner in which Dante cites the hymns or antiphons of the Church, reminds one of exulting music from the choir of a dim old Minster; and his introduction of the ministry of Angels, consistently with the Church's doctrine, forms episodes at once dramatic and full of solemn beauty. Petrarch's « Hymn to the Virgin », some of his sonnets, and many passages of his *Trionfi*, breathe the devotion of a lofty intellect and feeling heart. Chaucer, whilst liberal of the most caustic satire against ecclesiastic abuses, ever displays when approaching the higher and pure aspects of Catholicism (as in his « Prioress's Tale ») a reverential and devout enthusiasm, happily contrasted with his other and less exalted moods. The extatic Calderon composed Tragedies so imbued with the imagery and sentiments of Catholic worship, that they may be considered a link between the old Miracle Plays and the modern Drama — especially his *Devocion de la Cruz* — *Purgatorio di san Patrizio* — « and the » *Magico prodigioso*: his « Autos Sacramentales, » as the title imports, have almost

the very form of the medieval sacred drama, whose characteristics are especially marked in the *Cena di Baltasar* (*Supper of Belshazar*) winding up, like a grand religious ceremony, with an illuminated exposition of the Host! Lope de Vega has less of this tendency; but the invocation to the cross planted first in the New World — in his *Columbus* (« *Nuevo Mundo scoperto par Colon* ») seems like a mystic hymn introduced on the stage. The exalted religious tone indeed characterises Spanish lyric Poetry, almost all whose effusions may be classed under three heads, pastoral, chivalrous and sacred, the last decidedly the noblest. In the 16th century, Latin poetry again came into vogue, and there were instances of the treatment of Christian themes in forms yet unexampled, as in the « De partu Virginis » of Sannazzaro, and the « Christiad » of Vida, the latter a Poem grandly conceived and executed, the former, though abounding in fine passages, injured by the mythologic colouring given to subjects awful from their Divine truth, and the frigid conceits of Paganism discordant with the native sublimity of the theme, as a spangled robe on a marble statue. To this epoch belongs a book of « Christian Fasti » by Ambrose Novidius Fraceus, the author of « Elegiac Carmina, » in imitation of Ovid, whose idea was to impart that interest to Catholic rites, which the Roman poet had succeeded in giving to those of Paganism. Tasso owes some of the finest effects in his « Jerusalem » to the introduction of the supernatural, the ministry of Angels, the majestic ritual, processions and chanted litanies, the piety and faith brought into relief by fierce fanaticism, warlike pomp, and necromantic mystery in that admirable Poem. The ecclesiastical element is introduced, sometimes strangely and inappropriately, but with picturesque result, in the « Lusiad » of Camoens. It is disputed still whether Shakspere were Catholic or Protestant; certainly he never introduces ecclesiastic persons or allusions in the object of making them ridiculous

or hateful, if we except the crimes which History obliged him to impute to the Cardinal Beaufort. His character of Friar Laurence in *Romeo and Juliet*; the Abbess in *Measure for Measure*, the Legate in *King John*, add Catholic associations to those plays with undeniable improvement of effect; and the language of his Henry IV, announcing the intention to take the Cross, nobly formalises the idea and guiding principle of the Crusades.

Passing to the moderns, it may be observed how many poets whese point of view has been protestant, or even sceptical, have produced their finest effects through the aid of imagery and allusion pointing to the Catholic sanctuary. In the whole range of modern poetry is scarcely a scene wrought with power so intense as that, in the « Faust », where the daring and life-wearied speculator is witheld from his purpose of drinking poison by the emotion excited on hearing the hymn for Easter, at daybreak, sung in the streets under his laboratory: and the anguish of Goethe's *Margaret*, in the same Drama, is no where so affectinghy real as when the strains of the *Dies Irae* blend with the upbraidings of conscience and the audible suggestions of an Evil Spirit, in the midst of a Cathedral solemnity. His « Bride of Corinth » places a terrific superstition (here applied to Paganism, though not originated thereby) in opposition with the extatic austerities of the early Church, producing a situation that fascinates while it appals. Schiller never struck the chords of tragic pathos with finer harmony than in the confession and communion scene of his « Maria Stuart, » or in the last act of his « Bride of Messina, » where the mournful mother and sister entreat the fratricide to live, that he may become reconciled to Heaven and himself by penance and pilgrimage for the expiation of his guilt. The splendid and romantic dramas of Werner present finely the spirit of chivalrous piety and self-devotion, coloured hy the picturesque and conse-

secrated magnificence proper to his subjects from the medieval Past. Filicaja's sublimely religious and patriotic *Canzoni*; those of Chiabrera, divided into parts like the Greek chorus; Monti's grandly conceived but unfinished Epic of the « Basvigliana, » embodyng the idea of an intermediate state; Silvio Pellico's descriptive Cantos; the romantic *Novelle* of Grossi; some of Mamiani's blank verse poems, truly Greek in form and simplicity, dedicated to the honour of Saints and Angels; the lyric hymns of Borghi, and those, finest in modern Italian verse, by Manzoni, have worthily sustained the Catholic spirit in their country's poetic literature. The practise of celebrating Good Friday, at Rome, by *Accademie* for recital of compositions, mostly in verse, has tended to support a purely devotional school of Poetry in that city; but it cannot be denied that, in the Italian literature of recent years, less of the distinctly Catholic than the metaphysically speculative spirit has appeared in the metrical forms, and the high devotional principle, most nobly uttered in the effusions of Manzoni and Pellico, has given place to what may be styled, abstractedly, *religiousness*, often indeed fervently felt, but less dependant on the Church or defined belief in positive Truth — tendencies represented by Foscolo, Niccolini, Mamiani, Prati, while in the Poet who surpassed almost all cotemporaries, Leopardi, abandoned to cheerless sceptieism, we see the gloomy results of unbelief overclouding some of the most splendid utterances of the Italian Muse in modern verse. In France, after the most absolute proscription and blasphemous trampling upon the sanctities of national religion that ever a Church, Catholic or Protestant, sustained or survived, it was not by learned dialecticians or eloquent preachers that the first impulse was given to the revival of sympathy and admiration for Catholicism — but by a highly imaginative writer, more noted for poetic sentiment and splendour of style than powers of reasoning, who called atten-

tion mainly to those aspects of Catholicism appealing to conscience through feeling and the sense of beauty, and gave to his fascinating apology the appropriate title, « Genius of Christianity. » Soon followed the mystic and visionary, but earnestly religious Saint-Martin, and Madame de Stael, who, though Protestant, pleads, through her *Corinne*, in favour of the Catholic devotional system, its power to purify and elevate, with eloquence equalled by few writers who have approached this subject from whatever point of view; Lamartine, contemplatively tender and extatic in his « Méditations, » and pathetic in his « Jocelyn, » which presents a moving picture of struggles and sacrifices, a fine ideal of the priestly character amidst modern circumstances and trials. Turning to the English, we find Pope, in almost the only poem of his that can be called glowing or impassioned, deriving from Catholic imagery and sentiment, the struggle between heavenly and earthly affection, all that pathos giving soul to the resplendant diction of his *Eloisa*; Wordsworth, intending to protest in adverse sense, describing the sacred transaction that forms the centre of Catholic worship in a manner certainly more attractive than otherwise:

With dim association
The tapers burn, the odorous incense feeds
A greedy flame: the pompous Mass proceeds;
The priest bestows the appointed consecration;
And while the Host is raised its elevation
An awe und supernatural horror breeds,
And all the people bow their heads, like reeds
To a soft breeze, in lowly adoration —

His « Devotional Incitements » avow regret for the suppression of the majestically spectacular and symbolic in worship; and one of his faultlessly finished sonnets reveres immaculate purity, in the Blessed Vergin, with terms that might satisfy any theologian of Rome. Byron conveys more mea-

ning than perhaps was intended by himself in his apostrophe to the Eternal City:

Parent of our Religion, whom the wide
Nations have knelt to for the keys of Heaven,
Europe, repentant of her parricide,
Shall yet redeem thee, etc.

and hardly has he charmed his readers by any passage more pure and elevated in feling, or felicitons in expression than the stanzas dwelling on his remembrances of the « Ave Maria » hallowing the « sweet hour of twilight, » in Ravenna's pine forest —

When not a breath crept through the rosy air,
And yet the forest leaves seem'd stirr'd with prayer.

Scott, in his poetry at least, owes almost the entire machinery of effects and treasury of images to that Church he seems to have considered it a duty to denounce. (See his « Lady of the Lake, » her devotions so touchingly versified in the Hymn to the Virgin; and the banquet interrupted by the procession of Monks, in his « Lord of the Isles; » the ruined Monastery in « Rokeby, » the Chapter of Durham in « Harold the Dauntless; » the assemblage of Nuns for the fire-side telling of legends, the terrific trial and death-scene in the subterranean dungeon, the midnight meeting of the Abbess and Palmer, in « Marmion. ») Rogers has felicitously introduced the devotionally picturesque in his « Italy »; and Beckford, with still clearer touches, brings before us the pageantry or sanctuaries of Catholicism in his vividly pictorial prose, where is traced almost every impression that could he produced upon feeling, without one movement towards the assent of conviction or will. The school of romance originated by Horace Walpole and Mrs Radcliffe perhaps will only he remembered in future for its pictorial skill in presenting seenery from the medieval antique, or more striking features in the externals of Catholicism. It is re-

markable how one of the most formidable and brilliant opponents of the Church has presented, in terms concisely arthodox and appropriately dignified, the catastrophe of his Epic, bringing a royal convert into the pale of the ancient communion:

Il reconnoît l'Eglise ici bas combatuë,
L'Eglise toujours une, et par tout étenduë:
Libre, mais sous un Chéf, adorant en tout lieu
Dans le bonheur des Saints, la grandeur de son Dieu;
Le Christ de nos pechés victime renaissante,
De ses élus chéris nourriture vivante,
Descend sur les Autels à ses yeux éperdus,
Et lui découvre un Dieu sous un pain qui n'est plus.
Son coeur obéissant se soumet, s'abandonne
A ces mistéres saints dont la raison s'étonne;

The living Poets of England, if space did not fail, might be brought within the compass of these observations; and the influence of the Catholic idea, the associations between its olden ritual or symbolism and deeply seated emotions or principles of mind, be traced in various expressions, even apart from all consideration of dogma, from any tendencies to assent of belief, throughout the writings of the illustrious ones whose place is already classic in our literature — Tennyson, Elizabeth Browning, Monkton Milnes, Trench, Bailey, Williams, Keble; and the American Longfellow. I might dwell, in carrying out this investigation, on the fascinating and risplendant employment of Catholic imagery in the « Vision of Poets » and « Lay of the Rosary » by Mrs Browning, and in the « Golden Legend » by Longfellow; the modified, but devout sentiment in Trench's « Protestant Hymn to the Virgin, » the profound speculation often leading to Catholic conclusions in the magnificent dramatic poem of « Festus, » or the more strongly marked sympathy with the ancient Church throughout the devotional poetry of Williams and Keble. Among those writers

belonging to its communion such influences are, of course, to be expected; but one may particularly be noticed as the special interpreter and indefatigable illustrater of the antique and beautiful in Catholicism — Kenelm Digby, in his « Mores Catholici, » — « Compitum », and the « Broad Stone of Honour. »

In a worship so imbued with the principle of symbolism, every detail has its significance, and, as in the Mosaic Ritual, every accessory of use or ornament in the Temple has its spiritual reference, which it is well to be informed of, because all, more or less, exponent of principles deeply seated in the sacred penetralia. The Catholic altar was, in primitive ages, in the form of a table of wood or stone, with supporters; certainly in Apostolic times a wooden portable basement alone served for the Eucharistic rites, nor till after the peace secured to the Church by Constantine, did immoveable altars become common, except when formed over the tombs of martyrs, as in the Catacombs. Subsequently altars were constructed of stone or marble, of silver or even gold, inlaid with gems: but it is not evident at what period the wooden ones were totally abolished, their use in many places being preserved later than the Constantiniam epoch — as those which were burnt by the Arians, mentioned by St. Athanasius, and those also thrown into the flames by the Donatists, reproached for this sacrilege by St. Augustine. Even in the time of Charlemagne is mentioned, at so conspicuous a Cathedral as St. Denis, an altar of wood. Anciently stood in each church only one altar, though in the VI. century St. Gregory speaks of 13, erected by his own order in the same building; and it was not against the walls of the chapel or choir, but in the centre that the single altar rose in the temples of primitive Christianity, so that the officiating priest might be surrounded by worshippers. The Christian usage, from early times, of turning towards the East

in prayer, led to its placement in the same direction, —

That obvious emblem giving to the eye
Of meek Devotion, which erewhile it gave;
That symbol of the Dayspring from on high,
Triumphant o'er the darkness of the grave —

though this custom was not universally followed, in early or more recent centuries — as instanced in the altars of the Pantheon, and the recently disinterred church of S. Alessandro near Rome. In the Catacombs it became a common practice to celebrate the Communion over the tombs of martyrs or other saintly confessors; and in consequence every altar is required to contain relics, placed in a separate stone inserted at the centre of the *mensa*, considered as forming the indispensable part essential to the character of the holy table, as on such stones, when portable, it is lawful to celebrate, provided their space suffice for the paten and chalice with the elements to be consecrated. The use of portative altars continued common till the Council of Trent, which prohibited Bishops from giving faculties to celebrate Mass on such beyond the walls of churches or oratories, and, in consequence, the privilege became only obtainable from the supreme Pontiff; though Urban VIII granted to Bishops the use of portative altars for themselves, when absent from their churches and residences.

From an early period it was forbidden to celebrate without the Cross on the altar, as the Council of Tours decreed, in the year 567, « *ut Corpus Domini in altare sub crucis titulo imponetur*; and in the same positive manner was it prohibited to officiate without lights, at least two of which must burn on the altar, six for the highest, and four for the intermediate degree of solemnity — « not (as a work on this subject, called *Micrologo*, expresses it) not to chase away the shades of darkness, but rather as a type of that Light. [illegible]nce have been received the Sacraments celebrated on

these altars, and without which we should be left groping in darkness, alike during day and night. » The use of the so-called « privileged altars, » conspicuous in Italian churches, is not older than the 16th century, by some referred to the Pontificate of Gregory XIII, the earliest document extant in this reference, being a concession from Iulius III. A. D. 1551; though it is said that Pasqual I, in the IX century, granted a privileged altar to the church of St. Prassede. It cannot be denied that the modern style of decorating Italian altars is often cumbrous and tasteless; the images exhibited upon them offensive, artificial flowers, gaudy trappings and frippery too often derogating from the decorum to be desired in the sacred place. But this is a modern degeneration, alien to the spirit of ancient Catholicism, which united the majestic with the simple, as may be proved by irrefragable testimony speaking with the clearest voice from the Past — the testimony of artistic monuments. Here we have enduring evidence to that venerable simplicity, that majestic and subdued expression of the devotional spirit, distinguishing the Church of Antiquity, equally remote from theatrical ostentatiousness and puritanic sterility. In the numerous representations of sacred transactions, by the pencil or chisel, we find, prior to the XVI century, nothing like the overloaded finery or tawdry images of modern Italian churches. The altar there appears of dimensions much smaller than at present, either without any ornament, or simply the Cross, much more frequently than the Crucifix, upon it. In the XIII century we see altars with neither Cross, taper, or any ornament whatsoever (shrine by Giovanni da Pisa, Arezzo Cathedral, 1286) or else supporting the Cross alone (Cimabue, Florence Uffizi); in the XIV we see it, even at such a solemnity as a Coronation, represented without any kind of ornament, either Cross or tapers (tomb of Guido Tarlati, Arezzo Cathedral, by two sculptors of Siena, 1320-30), or supporting the Cross alone, without

lights (Giotto and Buffalmacco, Florence Accademia); or, in a subject of greater splendour, surmounted by a carved and gilded Gothic shrine, but no other decoration (Lorenzetti da Siena, ibid.) (1) Examples might be multiplied from this and later periods; and even in the XVI century, we find the highest artists preferring to represent the altar almost devoid of ornament, in a style extremely unlike that with which modern piety invests it (Raffael, *Miracle of Bolsena*, and *Disputa*, or « Theology, » Vatican; Andrea del Sarto, story of S. Filippo Benizzi, Annunziata, Florence.) It is not to be questioned that, from the period of primitive Christianity, painted imagery has been admitted in places of worship; though there seems in this respect a struggle between opposite tendencies — on one hand the horror of idolatry, producing a strong reaction in the human mind against Polytheism and its attendant absurdities; on the other, that propensity to the symbolising of ideas and portraiture of revered personages, which naturally proceeded from a Religion essentially spiritual, based on infinite truths beyond the power of language to express, but revealed through means of individuals the events and sanctity of whose lives was distinctly

(1) In a painting of the XI century, Italian School, the altar, at Mass, supports two tapers and a very small Cross, without other ornament (v. Agincourt); in the miniature groups on a superb Gothic reliquary, at Orvieto, a Bishop or Pope, in one subject, and a priest, in two others, celebrates at an altar similarly adorned with two tapers and the small Cross (XIV century); in the frescoes by Fra Angelico, at the Vatican chapel of St. Laurence, is seen a celebration at an altar under a canopy, on which stands a plain Cross without any other object (XV century.) The first instance I can find in which graven images appear on the altar, is in the above-named reliquary at Orvieto, one group being the Pope and Cardinals seated in council before an altar, on the predella of which stand three statuettes, the Virgin and Child in the centre.

recorded. The repulsion may have acted long on the mind of the primitive Church; but the attraction soon succeeded; its triumph was complete; and indeed what more natural than that the profound sense of invisible and divine realities should lead to a preference for the expression through mystic imagery of that which the highest human eloquence proved cold and feeble to declare? —

. . . The way is smooth
For power that travels with the human heart —

and so it was with the Church in her employment of that artistic agency she eventually developed to results so magnificent. In the Roman Catacombs is found testimony most valuable for Catholic antiquity: there certainly, as may be seen to this day, the sanctuaries of the persecuted Church bore close analogy to those of her subsequently triumphant state: the tomb, under its arched niche, or *archisolium*, corresponding to the modern altar in the apse or choir, with its relics inserted in the consecrated stone; the priest necessarily officiating with his back towards the people, the tapers requisite for illumination, as now for symbolism, and often the sacred painting, as the modern altar-pieces, meeting the gaze of the celebrant. Such legends as that of the Saviour having sent His own likeness to Abgarus, king of Edessa, (said to be preserved at *S. Silvestro in Capite*, in Rome) must be rejected. Eusebius was the first to discover a record of this supposed fact in the archives of Edessa, where Christianity had not been introduced earlier than between A. D. 160-70; but it is certain that an image was long revered, in that city, as such; also, that pictures of St. Peter and St. Paul were cherished, in ages very early, as portraits; and St. John Chrysostom used, when studying the Epistles of the latter Apostle, to contemplate an image considered his genuine likeness. Baronius (Anno 57) states that, in the first centuries, the images of the Saviour, the

Virgin and the Apostles were painted; and the primitive usage of adorning chalices with the figure of the Good Shepherd, is mentioned by Tertullian, early in the third century, as familiar to all Christians. Clement of Alexandria (latter years of the second century) says, in his *Pedagogus;* « Let our symbol, impressed upon rings, be the Dove, or the fish, or the ship — or the musical lyre of which Polycrates made use; or the anchor of the ship employed by Seleucus; and if a fisherman be represented, let the Christian be reminded of the Apostle, and of the children who are taken out of the waters » (i. e. of Baptism.) Of the existing pictures in the Roman Catacombs, many are supposed to belong to the first half of the second century; but it is satisfactory and interesting to observe, that so long as the *possibility* of superstitious abuse was apprehended, the Church never admitted images of persons in historic *action*, but only engaged in prayer — and down to a much later period, it was more frequently the arbitrary symbol, the typical personage or incident from the Old Testament, than the Redeemer Himself, or incidents of His history in the New Testament, that Art depicted, though His miracles, especially those applied in reference to the Sacraments, are indeed frequently seen in primitive paintings and sculptures — His sufferings and death, never. The modern use of images, particularly in Southern Europe, would undoubtedly have startled and offended the primitive Christians, some of the early « Apologists » for whose faith, state that in their assemblages were to be seen neither images nor statues, because they adored one only God, who was purely Spirit, and could not be represented under any figure. In the first ten centuries of the Church, according to the testimony of Mabillon, images were never placed on altars, conformably to the words of St. Leo IV, in a homily, A. D. 847: « Let nothing be placed on the altar except the shrines and relics, or perhaps

the four Gespels and pyx with the Body of Our Lord, for the Viaticum of the infirm. All the rest should be put in places appropriate. »

A statue of Christ was erected in a Baptistry in the time of Paulinus, as that Saint informs us; and Filostorgius mentions another such statue in the Basilica at Ceseren. Both St. Paulinus and the venerable Bede speak of the figures painted on the vaults of churches. In the beginning of the VIII century broke out the Iconoclast persecution at Constantinople, heraldëd, first, by the edict of the Emperor Leo III against the revering of sacred images, all which he ordered to be destroyed. To this the Popes offered vigorous opposition; fierce persecutions, on the part of the Iconoclasts, national conflicts, and other events, with results important to the history of the Church and of Europe, were the consequence. The cogent argument against the Iconoclasts was, that what man had seen man might represent, and that the Church did not desire to embody the invisibly Infinite to the gaze of devotion, but only those virtues and powers personified in the Saints, or that Truth supremely manifest in the Incarnation. Remarkable is it, how the abuse of Image-worship, in subsequent times, betrays total disregard of this principle, and offends in a manner that certainly would have failed to meet the justification of those Anti-iconoclasts. Pope Gregory II, in his remonstrating letter to Leo, says that when he visited the Vatican Basilica he could never look on the image of St. Peter, there painted, without being moved to tears. Paschal I, 824, afforded asylum in Rome to several monks and other fugitives from Greece, exiled for their attachment to the *cultus* of images; and this hospitality of the Pontiff proved of important effect to the after destinies of Art in Western Europe, for the fugitives had brought with them sacred pictures, particularly those of the Saviour and the Virgin, from Greek sanctuaries, in great number. The iconoclast

movement has been considered a reverberation from the ferment of new ideas, among the Oriental populations, excited by the doctrines of Mohammed; but it may be attributed also, in great degree, to the superstitious extravagances of a spurious piety in the Byzantine Church. Scarcely is there found in the pages of History a record, among annals of crime or folly, that throws darker clouds over humanity than that conflict, where such tragedies appear enacted for causes utterly inadequate, for interests utterly trivial compared with the means and costs expended — persecution, massacres, voluntary martyrdoms, the severing and mutual hatred of nationalities. But deeper consideration may lead to acknowledge, that this question was not without importance to Christianity and civilization, that the finally successful opposition to the Iconclast party had great results to the genius and religious temper of Europe.

A decree of the Council of Elvira, A. D. 305, seems to convey absolute prohibition against even the admission of images into churches: *Placuit picturas in ecclesia esse non debere, ne quod colitur aut adoratur in parietibus dipingatur.* This has been interpreted, not indeed convincingly, as referring only to sacred symbols that were immoveable, and therefore as precaution against their profanation. In that precautionary spirit was early adopted a form of altar-piece long afterwards retained — the « Diptych, » or folding picture, which could easily be concealed or withdrawn from danger. Diptychs were composed, as their name implies, of two folding tablets of ivory, wood, or silver. Their origin was Pagan, and newly chosen Consuls used to distribute them among their friends inscribed with panegyrics or addresses. When these objects were presented to churches they were found useful as cases for copies of the Scriptures or liturgical books, also to contain tablets on which were inscribed the names of deceased benefactors to be prayed for. After-

wards were enrolled on the same tablets the names of the living Emperors, Pontiffs, or others of distinction for whom prayer was to be offered, and those of the dead, when admitted as Saints into the Calendar. The figures of the Redeemer, Apostles, or other reverend persons, were sometimes painted on the exterior; hence originated the Diptych, often developed into a Triptych, as an altar-piece, and indeed the general practice of placing sacred paintings, besides the Cross, immediately above the altar. (See Rock's « Hierurgia. ») The halo, or *nimbus*, became early appropriated to images of holy personages, the circular to those of Saints deceased, the quadrangular (as in some of the ancient mosaics in Roman churches) when the original was still living. Buonarrotti (*Vasi antichi di vetro*) supposes that the diadem, or nimbus, was first appropriated to such sacred figures alone, under the Greek Emperors, when it had ceased to adorn the imperial effigies, after the abrogation of the stricter Iconoclast principle by the Byzantine court and clergy. In the Council of Rome, A. D. 723, excommunication was pronounced against whomsoever should contemn the practice of the Church regarding images, or should remove, destroy, or profane such objects. The second General Council of Nice, A. D. 787, pronounced: « The worhisp of Images is not an idolatry, as the heretics pretend, because the Catholics do not adore them as God, nor believe that any divinity exists in them, but only make use of them to be thereby reminded of the Son of God, to be excited to the love of the beings they see represented, to imitate their holy actions, and demand grace for doing so from Jesus Christ. » — The Council of Trent decreed that « it should be permitted to no one to place, or cause to be placed any whatsoever Image in any locality or church, even privileged, unless such image be approved by the Bishop. »

Images, before being presented to public veneration,

are now blessed with prayers, holy water, and various rites prescribed by the *Pontificale Romanum*.

The use of Lights in sacred Ceremonial is referrible to a very ancient period; almost from the birth of Christianity did the Church employ them, not only at night but by day, as appears in the primitive custom for the faithful to offer oil to supply the lamps in the sanctuary. There is a legend describing the funeral of the Blessed Virgin, attended by a procession of the Apostles and all the faithful, bearing lights, to the Valley of Gethsemane. In the third century the lighting of wax tapers for religious occasions is mentioned in the Acts of St. Cyprian. St. Melchiades, elected Pope, A. D. 311, ordered that, for celebrating Mass, there should be at least two tapers, with the Cross, on every altar: Sylvester I, in the same century, bestowed bronze candelabra for the sanctuaries of Rome; St. Athanasius mentions the tapers used in the church of Alexandria. A Carthaginian Council, A. D. 373, prescribed that the acolytes should have the charge of lighting lamps and tapers in the temples; and we learn from St. Jerome (see his argument against the innovator Vigilantius) that in his time (early in the Vth century) throughout the Oriental church tapers were lit at the chanting of the Gospel, and carried by the acolytes, precisely as observed at High Mass to the present day. St. Paulinus, in one of his beautiful Latin Poems, describes the illuminations for the festival of St. Felix — the tapers suspended in circlets, like a crown, above the altar, the lamps hung by chains of bronze, and a great *lucerna* of gold pendant before the sanctuary. In 590, St. Gregory I planted more than 50 olive-groves, for the sole support of the lamps at St. Peter's. When 4 tapers are lit at Mass the allusion is to the Evangelists, whose symbols (taken from the vision of Ezekiel) used to be chiselled on the candlesticks; when 6 are lit, they signify the branches of the candelabrum in the Mosaic

temple. The 7 tapers, at episcopal High Mass, allude to the golden candelabra (themselves signifying the Asiatic churches) in the Apocalypse, or to the 7 lamps seen by St. Iohn, in the same revelations, before the throne of Deity, or rather (what indeed is comprised in all these types) the seven gifts of the Spirit. During the first three centuries, it is believed, only oil was burnt in consecrated places; in the IV century wax was first introduced, after peace had been given to the Church, with mystic significance attached to the produce of the bee; St. Ierome, writing to St. Augustine, says « Qui *possunt aut cereolos aut oleum exhibeant.* » Various Councils desired that those who founded churches should provide also a revenue for their lights, as was enjoined by a code of Iustinian. Subsequently came a development of the greatest pomp in the profuseness and devices of church illuminations — *phari* or columns, garnished at different intervals with lamps, sometimes numbering hundreds; *canthari*, large vessels filled with oil for lighting; crowns of silver and gold, supporting circles of fire above the altar, and *Crosses*, of very large scale, covered with lights, like that which formed the grand object in the Easter illuminations at St. Peter's. When the Norman Kings of England enforced their hated *Curfew* law, the lights of the sanctuary, alone among all others, were exempted. In all churches where the Holy Sacrament is preserved the lamp that burns, usually suspended before it, remains day and night unextinguished.

The primitive Christians early began to place the sign of the Cross on sepulchres before the first lines of epitaphs, and to use it for signing the person on every occasion. Bosio (*Roma Subter.*) observes that the Lamb with the cross, as a hieroglyphic of Christ, was introduced before the time of Constantine, after which the symbol of Redemption was displayed at the van of armies on the sacred Labarum, in the hand of the figure of Victory, in those of Emperors, and

on the imperial globe. Thus was the instrument of death glorified by all that wealth and art could bestow, being formed of silver or of gold, blazing with jewels; chiselled gems, intagli and cameos were appended to it, sometimes representing mythologic subjects in token of the subjection of all systems to the glorious victory of Truth. At Constantinople the Cross was the device on the obverse of coins, and after the conversion of Clovis, on those of the Frankish Kingdom. But a symbol of much later introduction is that since become universal, the Crucifix. Neither such nor other representation of the Passion, in any of its stages, is found in the Catacombs, as the early Church evidently avoided it, either from the profound sensibilities of reverence, or in order that the faithful might be reminded of victory rather than anguish, consoled rather than awe-struck by the symbolism of the sanctuary. The Cross alone, painted to appear studded with gems, is seen in those subterraneans; and though Arrighi (*Roma sotterranea*) mentions also pictures of the Crucifixion, the hands and feet transpierced with four nails, the feet sustained by a transverse beam, the figure clothed from the waist downwards, it is not credible that such could have been added to the Catacomb paintings in primitive times. According to the legend, the Crucifix still at Lucca, sculptured in wood, completely clothed and crowned, was wrought by the hand of Nicodemus, to whom was attributed also another, long preserved at Berytus in Syria. Another legend records a miraculous Crucifix, in the same city, which shed blood and water on being pierced by blaspheming Jews — a proof at least (whatever may be thought of the preternatural circumstance) that in the VIII century, the Crucifix used to be hung in the chambers of pious Catholics, as now. But the most ancient Crucifixes extant (where antiquity can be verified) are mostly of the X and XI centuries; and it is determined that all in which the figure is almost nude (as now represented) are of later origin. A Council, in

the year 672, ordered that the Saviour should no more be represented by the symbol of a Lamb, but under the human figure. Lactantius mentions the image of the Crucified as publicly exposed to veneration in the time of Constantine; and thus early, according to usual practice, placed near the entrance of churches. Anciently the holy symbol, painted on a black or violet veil, used to be hung before the priest whilst celebrating; afterwards the priest himself carried a Crucifix to the altar before Mass, and removed it after that service. It was not considered of necessity that the Crucifix should be exposed on the altar during Mass, till a constitution of Benedict XIV, in 1764, ordered that no celebration should take place without it. Upon the altar between the two tapers it signifies, as explained by Innocent III, Christ the Mediator between the Gentiles and Israelites, uniting them in one Church. The Cross must be erected, according to the Roman ritual, wherever a spot is enclosed for building a church; the Crucifix is placed at one side of every pulpit, and by some Religious Orders is always worn in the girdle; it stands in the antichamber of every Prelate, and in every room of the private apartments in Papal Palaces. It is the custom also in Italy, to place a small Crucifix in the folded hands of the dead, when laid out for interment. In Catholic countries the traveller, if failing to reverence, scarcely fails to observe the frequent appearance of the sign of Redemption, either with or without the crucified figure, on high ways — sometimes covered with emblems, the istruments of the Passion, the seamless garment, the lantern, the pieces of silver, the dice of the soldiers, the cock that crowed to St. Peter — an affecting memento and natural expression of piety that originated in the XI. century, when a decree of the Council of Clermont (1096) ordered that Crosses, erected on public ways, should have the privileges of asylum ad refuge for the persecuted or endangered, alike with altars and sanctuaries. There were

different forms of the Cross; — the *decussata* (or St. Andrew's, two beams placed transversely; the *commissa* in form of a T; the *immissa*, in the Latin form most common; and the Greek, or Maltese, in which the four members are of equal length. Its simple form began to be enclosed in circle or varied by dots, stars ec within the angles; it protected localities, and in England, at the origin of parishes, was revered as the hallowed mark of their boundaries, which it were sacrilege to disturb. In medieval times it was not unusual to place the sign at the head of private letters, however trivial their contents, as we find in charters and other public documents. « (Disraeli « Amenities of Literature. «) To sum up the evidence on this subject, it may be stated that the Cross first became generally a Crucifix about the 6th century, and that the Lamb, the fish, as other symbols of Christ, disappeared to give place to the crucified figure in the course of the 10th century (1). If any accessory of reli-

(1) How early the Crucifix became an object familiar, and considered the peculiar symbol of Christians, was shown by the discovery, a few years ago, of a singular representation among the Palatine ruins, where, in one of the uncovered chambers of a suite opening on a Portico, against the slope of the imperial mount near the church of S. Anastasia, a learned Archoeologist, Padre Garucci, of the Jesuit Order, may claim the merit of finding, and illustrating, a group rudely traced on the stucco of a wall, in what is considered the quarter of a military company attached to the Coesars' Palace. This is a monument, not indeed of ancient Christianity, but of anti-Christian blasphemy in primitive ages, consisting of a crucified figure, and another standing below with outspread arms, the figure on the cross having the head of an ass! — otherwise in the same style and costume with its companion, a short tunic with sleeves and buskins. Below is the inscription, in defective Greek, « Alexamenos worships God, » — Αλεξαμενος σεβετε Θεον. Garucci, in a memoir published on the subject, assigned a date not less early than the regin of Septimius Seve-

gious ceremonial has universally recommended itself, ever accepted as expressive of devotional feeling, it is assuredly the Incense — that precious gum of Araby that for thousands of years has burnt at every altar « from Indus to the Pole, » has perfumed the temples of Babylon and Nineveh, Rome and Athens, Ierusalem and Memphis, Ispahan and Delhi, and been offered amid the cruel or pompous rites of every worship to which a consecrated priesthood has been set apart. It may be observed how its use has prevailed in greater or less degree, as national religions have tended to the hierarchie and dogmatic, the forms of worship to the mystical, symbolic and spectacular. The Holy See, in ancient times, possessed a territory on the Euphrates, neear Babylon, expressly employed for the cultivation of the Incense-tree to supply the sanctuaries of Rome. The use of Incense so early adopted in the rites of Catholicism, was attached to those of Paganism almost universally. It seems to have been the sentiment of all antiquity that this fragrant offering was only to be made to Divine Intelligences, or introduced in observances connected with religion — beautiful and mystic association, that at once expresses and stimulates devotional feeling ! Though Tertullian states that, in his time, no incense was burnt for Christian woship, we have testimony to its use in the 2nd century, when Pope Soterus A. D. 175, forbid the consecrated virgins to offer it with their own hands in churches; and St. Ephrem, besides many writers in the IVth century, speaks of incensing as then a part of Catholic ritual. Liturgical writers of the IXth century mention, as introduced in diffe-

rus to this caricature, which acquires the value of a testimony to the faith of the ancient Church, and is now in the Museum of the Romon College. Other rude designs and inscriptions, scratched on the same walls of the Palatine, assist us in forming an idea of the inmates' temper and morals.

rent places, the incensing of the sacramental elements, before consecration on the altar. In the Vth century a lady named Peristeria left a part of her property to the Church, *ut pro ejus anima incensum obtulerit*; and the custom of honouring the dead with incense, at funerals, is referred by Rinaldi to high antiquity. St. Thomas Aquinas says that the Church does not use incense, because the Mosaic Law prescribed it, but on a different principle; that it is offered to the Holy Sacrament for two purposes — to represent the effect of Grace, which Christ was full of, and which from Him is obtained by the faithful through the office of his ministers; and also for the purification of the atmosphere round the holy place. Incense is intended primarily to render homage to the Omnipotent; also to denote the prayers of the Saints, described in the Scriptures as ascending, like a sweet odour to His throne. The altar is incensed as an act of prayer to Christ, who is Himself figured in the Apocalypse as an altar; Crucifixes and other holy Images are incensed, to refer honours, of worship or veneration, to the originals; the books of the Gospel are incensed to attest reverence for the Word of God, and the odour of sanctity spread around by those whose lives are conformed to the evangelic precepts; the sacramental elements are incensed in allusion to the anointing of the Body of Christ, before the Passion, by Mary Magdalene; the faithful are incensed at worship to admonish them to lift up their hearts to God, ready to be consumed, like the fragrant gum itself, in His service, and shed around the odour of Christian sanctity from their lives. Bishops, priests, and other dignitaries are incensed to render honour to the offices or character sustained; relics of Saints are incensed to attest that the good odour of spiritual excellence proceeded constantly from their lives, and continues to emanate from their memory after death: the dead bodies and sepulchres of the faithful are incensed to indicate that the

memory of those who die in the bosom of the Church is held in reverence, and that the Church offers for them, as for the living, the incense of her prayers (1).

Holy water is said to have been introduced in the Apostolic age. The practice of crossing with it at the entrance to the church, was substituted for the more ancient one of washing the hands, and sometimes the face also, at fountains outside the sacred building. Water and salt are commingled and blessed, to be sprinkled on the people, before High Mass, and symbolise the desire of the Church for our purification and preservation from every contagious evil — because water represents purity, and salt, emblematic also of wisdom, preserves against corruption. This practice is intended to admonish that purity is required from those assisting at the holy sacrifice, and to remind us of the Sacrament by which we have been received into the communion of Christianity. The sprinkling with water was used in various rites of Pagamsm, and an implement similar to the *aspergillum* of Catholic temples is frequently seen in classic reliefs. An idea of efficacy for moral purification in water so pervades

(1) « The incense burnt in honour of the Deity is symbol of what our prayers should be; and of the oblation which we ought to make of ourselves to Heaven. Incense with which the bread and wine are perfumed, indicates that the assistants unite their vows and prayers along with those of the celebrant. The priest encircles the altar with a fuming thurible to signify that, as the altar is the throne of Iesus Christ, an odour of sweetness is diffused around it. The ministers of the sanctuary are incensed, first to admonish them to raise their hearts and make their prayers ascend like grateful incense in the sight of God; and secondly, to put them in mind that they are those members of the Church who should continually strive to be able to say with truth, « We are the good savour of Christ unto God in those that are saved. » Rock's « Hierurgia. »

the systems of Mythology as to appear sometimes almost a presentiment of its sacramental use by the Church. When the religion of the Mexicans was first displayed to Christian research, a species of Baptism, and a mystery resembling the Eucharist, among its observances, excited surprise and the speculations of the thoughtful — for which see the « Soirées de St. Pitersburg « of Le Maistre, and » Essai sur l'Indifference « of La Mennais. Ovid has a curious passage describing the merchant sprinkling himself with water from the fountain of Mercury, whilst he prays for divine assistance to cheat:

Ablue praeterita perjuria temporis, inquit:
Ablue praeterita perfida verba die.
(Fasti, lib V. cap VII.)

a precious illustration of the connection between piety and morality!

Flowers, Nature's own ornament, unique in this, that they seem appropiate every where, at the banquet, the bridal, in the sanctuary, and at the tomb, early fascinated the feeling and were mystically interpreted into the meanings of the Church. Even in the age of St Augustine prevailed the custom of adorning altars with flowers.— « They are Nature's offering; their place is *there.* » This usage, reacting on the classifications of Botany in the Middle Ages, plants were often called by sacred names, or those of Saints whose festivals occurred about the time of their flowering. The snow drop, appearing about Candlemas, considered emblem of the Virgin Mother's stainless purity, became « Our Lady of February », the early daffodil « Lent Lily; » the *clematis vitalba,* flowering about the time of the visitation, was « Virgin's Bower. » Another, peculiarly beautiful, that blooms in Autumn, became « Passion flower » from the feast of the Holy Rood, occurring the 14th September — but olden legend attached deeper meanings and allusions to this, called appropriately the *mystic* Flower:

A pale, starry, dreamy-looking Flower,
Whose faint, wan petals, colourless, and yet
Not white, but shadowy, with the mystic lines,
(As letters of some wizard language gone)
Into their vapour-like transparence wrought,
Bear something of a strange solemnity,
Awfully lovely! and the Christian's thought
Loves, in their cloudy pencilling, to find
Dread symbols of his Lord's last mortal pangs,
Set by God's hand — the coronal of thorns —
The Cross, the wounds, with other meanings deep.

« Sweet William » took its name from St. William; the herb « Robert » from that Saint Norbert founder of the Carthusians, whose feast is on the 29th April; a flower blooming early in May became « Cross, » or « Rogation flower » because carried in the processions of Rogation Week; the Iris became the « Fleur de St. Louis, » the *picinus*, « *Palma Christi* », the *ornithogolum*, Star of Bethlehem. » (See Digby's « Tancredus, » second part of the « Broad Stone of Honour. ») The lily of the vale has been adopted by art as the special emblem of the Blessed Virgin, of Virgin Saints generally, of St. Ioseph, St. Antony of Padua, St. Dominic, St. Catherine of Siena, and others.

A religious and festal use of flowers was familiar also to Paganism; they were dedicated to the nymphs and to their own peculiar Goddess, Flora; they adorned the temple and the private mansion for solemnities or domestic rejoicings (1). Their introduction on funereal occasions was perpetuated by the Christians from Pagan usage; the dead were crowned, the sepulchres adorned with them, as to this day prevails in Catholic countries the custom of placing flower crowns on the heads of Virgins, nuns, and young chil-

(1) Fasti, lib. V. II.

dren after death. But it was not from Paganism that the Church intended to adopt this most graceful of decorations: she remembered that flowers, imitated in woven or metallic work, were among the ornaments of the Mosaic Temple, and interpreted their mention in the sacred Books as symbolic of virtues — hence their profuseness on the pages of illuminated MSS, in copies of the inspired or other religious writings. The practice of throwing flowers over processions as they passed, is mentioned by St. Augustine, in whose time those which had touched the shrines containing relics were believed to have been instruments for miracles of healing. St. Jerome speaks of a holy priest who delighted to adorn the Basilica he served, with flowers, vine-branches, and boughs. The Bride in the Song of Solomon, mystically regarded as the Church, is adorned with flowers; and Catholicism therefore more readily sanctioned their use in her sanctuaries, becausconsidered tho typify the gifts of the Holy Spirit, disposing them in sacred places in more luxuriance, with this allusion, on the festival of Pentecost. Then, as on other occasions, they were showered upon the sanctuary from ceilings that opened above. Thus were rose-leaves scattered during Mass celebrated by the Popes at the Pantheon, on the *Domenica de Rosa*, according to an ordinary, published by Mabillon, of date somewhat anterior to 1143; and Du Cange notices the showering down of oak-leaves round the altar during the singing of the *Veni Creator*. At the Lateran flowers were sprinkled during the *Kyrie* on the Sunday after Ascension (1). At Naples flower crowns used to be worn by the priests in an annual procession to commemorate the translation of St. Januarius's relics — af-

(1) White rose-leave are still made to descend, a copious shower, in the chancel at S. Maria Maggiore, for the festival of *S. Maria della Neve*, 5th August.

terwards giving place to crosses wreathed with flowers, for the same procession. In the churches of the Capuchins, of Franciscan Nuns, and other Religious Orders, it is a practice to keep the entire plants bearing flowers, or other odoriferous shrubs, in vases placed for ornament. The sprinkling of pavements and stairs with myrtle, laurel or other evergreens, for festivals, is universally followed in Italian churches; and flowers are carried at St. Peter's in the procession from the Font on Holy Saturday.

The wealth lavished by the Church, from early ages, on vessels for sacramental uses, is incalculable; and the inventory of only those which, from among the multitude, have been noted down in extant registers, for their extraordinary magnificence, would fill volumes. It is said to have been Pope Urban I (elected A. D. 226) who first ordered that the vessels for the altar should be of silver, though before his time, many thus precious were used. Sixtus I, A. D. 132, ordered that the Chalice and Paten should never be touched except by the hands of consecrated ministers — as prohibition in the Mosaic Law was given to the Levites, « not to touch the vessels of the Sanctuary lest they die.» Therefore it is that, at the Benediction of the Holy Sacrament, a silk veil is worn over the shoulders of the celebrant, so that his hands are muffled whilst elevating the sacred vessel; and the patea and chalice are covered with an embroidered piece of silk, called also a veil, when brought to the altar. Besides the above named vessels are used: the *Ciborium*, a covered vase in which the Eucharist is kept in the Tabernacle for Communion — this name (from the Greek) properly signifying the globular pod which contains the seed of the Egyptian Lotus. (it must be of gold or silver, but has been made also of agate; and Durandus mentions glass or even wood being allowed for its material): the Pyx, a term convertible with Ciborium, but usually applied to a smaller vessel, of

gold or silver, in which is carried the Viaticum to the sick; and the Ostensorium, or monstrance, a radiated cup, or rather disk, for the solemn Exposition and Benediction. On this last it is that consecrated wealth has been more especially lavished; it is often seen blazing with jewels, and its golden stem exquisitely wrought into figures or other devices, presenting finest specimens of metallurgy.

Another object, often very costly, is to be seen at solemn Masses, and in the sacristies of Cathedrals or other ancient churches — the *Pax*, called also « Osculatorium, » a square tablet of gold, silver or other metal, chiselled, enamelled, or otherwise ornamented, usually with an image of the Saviour called, in Italy, « Pietà. » This was generally introduced about 1198, for the « *K*iss of Peace » at the communion of the celebrant at Mass, the embrace which ceased to be interchanged between persons of the same sex as usual in the primitive church, being now commuted into the practise of kissing the Pax, handed round to all in the sanctuary. The Franciscans brought this object into use, to provide against improprieties, at the period when the original separation of the sexes in church was beginning to be discontinued; but in England it was not till about the middle of the XIII century that the Pax was introduced, in consequence of the new arrangemeot which, it seems, was then first becoming prevalent in that conutry. Even in primitive times the « kiss of peace » was sometimes given with the paten, as was occasionlly continued down to the XVI century, when it was forbidden by Pius V. The words with which the Pax, after being kissed by the celebrant, is handed to, and received by all assisting in the sanctuary, are still the same as of old, *Pax tecum — Et cum spiritu tuo.*

The vestments of the clergy gradually received the peculiar meanings now attached, and the costliness peculiar to them. But in the first three centuries, ecclesiastics wore

nothing that distinguished them from their congregations; and it was not till after the peace of the Church, under Constantine, that any costume was prescribed to distinguish priests from laymen. Baronius supposes the colour first adopted was either brown or violet. There is no doubt that the dress of clerics originally resembled, in form and material, those of common use, as was the case with the habits of Friars and monastic Orders. The long robe, in Italian *veste talare*, became proper to the Clergy after the beginning of the XIV century, when short mantles and other fashions more displaying the person had become fashionable among the laity. St. Ierome is the first af the Fathers who mentions vestments appropriated to the sanctuary; but at that early period, it is supposed, they differed from others not so much in form as in richness, or a certain grave propriety. Later came into use, as now retained, for the celebration of Mass (besides the *Cassock*, or under robe, varying according to rank): the *Amice* (from *amicere* to cover) a piece of fine linen spread over the shoulders, compared to the sackcloth of penance mentioned in the Old Testament; the *Alb*, a linen tunic, emblematic of purity of soul; the *Girdle*, allusive to the exhortation, Let your loins be girded, and your lamps burning; the *Maniple*, a strip of embroidered linen suspended from the left arm, apparently the modern form of the handkerchief, anciently so carried, and now intended to admonish to constancy in the ministerial labours; the *Stole*, a silk scarf hung round the neck and embroidered with the Cross — substituted for a vestment anciently worn by all at public worship, and thrown over the head by females as a veil — now understood to symbolize the robe of Immortality; lastly, the Chasuble, an upper garment, answering to the Ephod of the Iewish ritual, with a long Cross wrought either in front or at the back (in the Italian Church always the former) its name derived from *casubula*, a small dwel-

ling — its emblematic significance, the purple robe thrown round the Redeemer, also the yoke of obedience to the Gospel. For this last is substituted, by the Decaon, the *dalmatic*; by the subdeacon the *Tunic*, vestments exactly alike, with sleeves and pendant tassels — the Dalmatic being worn by Bishops also under the chasuble. Besides the seis the Cope, like a flowing mantle fastened at the breast by a clasp (*fibbia, morse*) and attached to the shoulders by a richly embroidered hood, first introduced at the time the Popes began to walk in processions, from one church to another, for the Stations in Lent, and still worn in all grand processions, at the Benediction, and Vespers. As to colours, these have been chosen, for ecclesiastical use, on no principle of caprice or mere display. Baronius says of them, *nunquam mysterio vacant*; and St. Carlo Borromeo calls them, « hieroglyphics of celestial secrets. » Strictly speaking, they are only five. The Pope usually, and always in private, wears white, with allusion to the garments in which Christ was clad for derision. White, as emblem of glory, joy and innocence, is appropriated to festivals of Angels, Virgins, and all Saints not Martyrs; to those of the Holy Trinity, and those immediately referring to the Person of Our Ford — Christmas, Easter, Ascension etc — also for the dedication of churches and consecration of Bishops; red, implying excellence in dignity, allusive to the Holy Spirit (manifest in fiery tongues) and to Martyrdom, is for Pentecost, the festivals of Apostles (except St. Iohn, whose death was not violent) and all Martyrs, except the Holy Innocents, whose infant purity is represented by white; purple, implyng affliction and fasting, for Advent and Lent, the Rogations, the four *Tempora*, and all Processions, except that of Corpus Domini; black only for Good Friday and Requiem Masses; lastly, green for days without any other colour proper to them. The Pope, never wearing the ecclesiastical mourning, is vested in crimson when others

wear purple or violet. Vestments entirely of gold or silver stuff, answer for all occasions and in all solemnities, except the funereal, when there is at least some mixture of black. Rose colour is used in the Papal Chapel only, and for but two occasions, the 4th Sunday of Lent and the 3rd of Advent, as the mediate seasons between penance and festivity

All familiar with Catholic rites, or with sacred Art, must have observed how the effect of ecclesiastical grouping is enhanced by the two emblematic ornaments of episcopal costume, the Crosier and Mitre. The painted figures of venerable Saints, with flowing beard and benignly grave aspect, seem to receive from those accessories a perfect propriety and finish in their picturesque costume. The common staff of wood, carried by apostolic missionaries on their travels in primitive times, seems to have been early converted into an ecclesiastical symbol. It was then called the *pedum* (shepherd's crook) when its straight rod terminated in a curve; *ferula combuta* when terminating, instead of a curve, in a cross, as is the form of the Greek Crosier at present. Tradition assigns a very early date to its introduction in the sanctuary; and legend attempts to identify the crosier in the hand of an antique image of St. Saturninus, at Toulonse, with the one actually consigned to that disciple of the Apostles when he was consecrated to the pastoral office. The real crosier of St. Augustine, of wood and ivory, is preserved, according to some authorities, in Sardinia, — according to others, at Valencia in Spain. The symbol became, in latter ages, not only proper to Bishops, but to mitred abbots, to the Abbesses of certain monasteries, and the Grand Masters of some Military Orders, as that of Calatrava, instituted 1158. Even (in one exceptional case) a secular sovereign, Roger Guiscard, of Sicily, received it, together with other prelatic emblems and prerogatines, from the Pope, Lucius, in 1144. The crosier is often a beautiful object, wrought in metal gilt, adorned with fantastic chisel-

ling, or figures, Saints or the Lamb, within its curve. Its mystic meanings are implied in the straights tem, that signifies vigilance for the guardianship of the faithful — in the curve, authority for drawing back the erring into the flock — the pointed extremity, rigour for arousing the careless and inert. In the earliest Christian paintings, in the Catacombs, the wand is a symbol of highest authority, only given to the Saviour, to Moses, and sometimes to St. Peter; and all these meanings are comprised in the inscription on the above-mentioned crosier of St. Saturninus, ascribed by legend to such high antiquity: *Curva trahitur, quos virga regit, pars ultima pungit.* Because understood also to signify delegated authority, the Supreme Pontiff never uses the crosier, though this is explained in another sense by Innocent III, with reference to a legend, that when St. Peter consecrated St. Eucharius as Bishop of Treves, he consigned to him his own staff, nor ever afterwards used another — a rather fantastic explanation, but still accepted in ritual observance, for, the relic considered the staff of St. Peter being preserved at Treves, if a Pope celebrate in that cathedral, he still uses it, thus to wield the veritable crosier of his greatest Predecessor! It appears, however, that for some centuries the Popes carried a curved staff, regarded as the sceptre of sovereignty, rather than as an episcopal symbol.

The Mitre was worn by the High Priest of Ierusalem, as well as by the ministers of many Pagan temples; the chief priests of Astarte at Hieropolis, those of the Braminic worship, the Flamens of Iupiter at Rome, all wore some species of mitre; and among the effeminate Asiatic races, Lydians, Phrygians, Persians, a peculiar cap resembling it was the common male head-dress. In the 4th century something similar distinguished the consecrated virgins of the Church, in Africa. It has been supposed that the first Latin Bishop to use the mitre, was Pope Sylvester I, early in the 4th cen-

tury; but that it was not generally worn by Prelates till the 10th or, according to others, till the 11th century. Martene supposes its introduction much more ancient, but with restrictions, and only granted to certain Bishops by special favour of the Holy See. We see it on the coins of Popes of the IX century at the Vatican; and since 1049, it has been assumed by all Cardinals, even those only deacons, because accorded to the entire Sacred College by Leo IX. Mystically regarded it is a symbol of spiritual power and excellence; the two points, united and separated, representing, according to St. Thomas, the Old and New Testament; also preeminence in knowledge and wisdom; the fillets hanging behind it, when red, signify willingness to shed blood for the faith. Probably the most ancient mitre extant is that at S. *Martino ai Monti*, in Rome, said to be St. Sylvester's. From this relic and from ancient monuments or paintings, we have proof how different the primitive form from the modern, — so low as only just to rise above the crown of the head, but far more becoming than the enormous mitres of the present day, which (particularly in Rome) are beyond all proportion with the human figure. In art we may trace this gradual alteration; and generally, in pictures of the XVI century, the mitre appears, though larger than the antique, far less than the modern. Wherever, indeed, we see combrous and unbecoming pomp, in Catholic usages, the modern, not the ancient Church must be blamed for it. The mitre and tiara are seen, perhaps at the earliest, in their present forms, in the reliefs on Papal monuments at St. Peter's, of the 17th century; and many other ecclesiastical details are very different, in the representations of early art, from what they now are. Incredible sums have been spent on mitres, to adorn them with gems that might have formed the treasury of a Great Mogul, and with every description of devices in jewelry etc. Eugenius IV, in 1439, commissioned Lorenzo Ghiberti, at Florence, for one, which

weighed 15 pounds, and was valued at 30,000 gold ducats. Till the close of the last century, four of the mitres preserved in in the Papal Sacristy, classed among the *preziosissime*; those of Pius V, and two of Pius VI, which surpassed all in splendour, particularly that fashioned in 1791, one blaze of jewels — sapphires, Oriental rubies, Oriental and Brasilian diamonds, amethysts, crysolites, topazes — besides a profusion of pearls interwoven with gold embroidery on the fillets, the design being an intended imitation of Raffael; and another, shortly afterwards commissioned by the same splendour-loving Pontiff, the *rifacimento* of an ancient one, was also a veritable Golconda of gems. It was a strange example of the evanescence of earthly pomp — how power as well as jewels may melt away — when under this Pontiff, who had perhaps indulged too far his love of the magnificent — only six years later, his numerous mitres, of supreme value, and all the Papal Tiaras then existing; had to be taken to pieces and sold, to supply ready money for the tribute imposed on the Roman States by the Treaty of Tolentino!

Curious also is it to find, in medieval annals, how the mitre has sometimes been assumed among the symbols of secular sovereignty, as if to typify that crossing and confusion betwen the two powers that frequently led to fatal struggles in those ages. In the XI century a mitre was assumed by the Prefect of Rome, whilst the imperial crown received the same form, with the diadem of royalty at its summit, according to a writer who describes the turbulent Henry IV presenting himself at Rome for his coronation, *cum nivea mitra, cui superimponit patricialem circulum.* In 1068 the Duke, afterwards king, of Bohemia, in reward for his devotedness to the Holy See, demanded and obtained from Alexander II, the privilege of wearing a mitre, confirmed to him by Gregory VII, and Lucius II conceded to the Sicilian king not only the episcopal crosier, sandals and Dalmatic, but

also the mitre, an example followed by Innocent III in his concessions to Peter III of Arragon, when that Monarch was crowned by him at St. Peter's, in 1204. Contrasted with these exceptional cases, was the adoption of the mitre as sign of infamy and degradation, but then always of ignoble material, paper or pasteboard, placed on the heads of malefactors, or heretics, and, more usually, on those of offending ecclesiastics, when led out for public punishment. This was practised in Rome, as well as other cities, throughout the Middle Ages. Here was a punishment for contumacy against the citations of the Capitoline judges, consisting in the exposure of the offender, through the whole of a market-day, seated astride on the figure of a lion (once on the Capitol's level summit) with a pasteboard mitre on his head, and his face smeared over with honey (Cancellieri, « Piazza Navona » etc.) Painted with flames and devils, the mitre added to the ghastly horrors of the *Autos da fe* in Spain, under Philip II; a mitred ass was sometimes thrown by machinery into besieged cities; blinded or otherwise cruelly maltreated, priests and other victims of popular fury have been crowned with paper mitres, and forced to ride backwards through the streets of Catholic cities, in « good old times; » and the Papal Metropolis was edified, recently as the Pontificate of Alexander VI, by the punishment of six imposters condemned to public scourging, with paper mitres on their heads.

It was not till comparatively late that the mitre developed into that proudest symbol of sovereignty, the Triple Crown (*triregno*, *tiara*); but certainly a single crown was worn by the Popes from the IX century (tradition spoke of its bestowal by Constantine upon St. Sylvester) and just fourteen years before any such « Golden round » sat first on the head of an English king, did Nicholas I, in 858, receive the royal insignia, transforming the simple consecration of

the Roman Bishop into a coronation. (1) It had been generally concluded that the *second* diadem was not added till near the end of the XIII century, by Boniface VIII, but the learned archoeologist Mansi discovered evidence, in a chronicle by Benzo, a Bishop cotemporary with Gregory VII, that it was actually in the XI century the additional symbol first appeared, when Nicholas II, elected 1059, at the instigation of Hildebrand, then Cardinal, received a tiara with two circles, on the upper of which was inscribed, *Crown of Rogalty from the Hand of God*; on the lower, *Diadem of Empire from the hand of Peter* (v. Gerbet, « Rome Chrêtienne. ») Suger speaks of Innocent II receiving at his coronation (1130) an imperial ornament like a casque surrounded by a circle of gold — as if, within the interval, the second diadem had become disused or forgotten. Tosti (a living Benedictine historian) describes the splendid installation of Boniface VIII, with pomp scarce precedented, and his assumption of the tiara (to which Papebroch stated, was by him first added a second circlet) consiting of a cap of fine tissue of peacocks' feathers, with a large carbuncle at the summit, whence descended as it were flames of rubies and other precious gems, all added to its ornaments by that Pope himself. Yet the same Boniface is represented by Giotto, (see his portrait, proclaiming the Jubilee, at the Lateran) with only a single diadem. The *third* was undoubtedly adopted soon after the removal to Avignon, as in an inventory of properties of the Pope who effected that unfortunate migration, Clement V, has been found the very object — a Triple Crown: which is also traced, though not quite distinctly, on the monument of John XXII at Avignon; that Pontiff's coins, however have only the double crown, which again, on those of Clement VI (1342) and

(*) Alfred is said to have been the first English king who wore this symbol of authority, A. D. 872. Athelstan (A. D. 629) wore a modern Earl's coronet.

Innocent VI (1354) becomes triple. From Urban VI, the restorer of the See to Rome (1378) does the change become final and permanent, the Papal Crown ever afterwards appearing with its threefold diadem. As to mystic meanings, the double seems more clearly explained than the triple emblem; and the words of Innocent III interpret aptly its intention, contrasted with the simple mitre, that Pontiff writing that « the Church had given him a mitre as sign of things spiritual, a crown as sign of things temporal — the one for the priesthood, the other for the royalty. » Some archoeologists find in three circlets an emblem of three powers, sacerdotal, imperial, and royal; others, a sublimer allusion to the triumph of the King of kings, described in the Apocalypse, as shown to the Apostle, crowned with many diadems. In art the monumental evidence seems contradictory: Giotto gives only one diadem alike to Boniface, to Innocent III, and Honorius III (see his series of the story of St. Francis, at Assisi and in the Florence Accademia.) The statue of the first of those Popes, on his tomb in the crypt of St. Peter's, has two; that of Benedict XII, in the same subterranean, also two, thongh after the adoption of the third circle. The earliest instance I find in painting, where the Triple Crown appears in its perfected form, is a picture by Cavallini (deceased 1364) of the Annunciation and groups of Saints, at the Accademia. Pius IX now wears the Tiara given by the Queen of Spain, in 1854, valued at 80,000 scudi; and of two others carried in the procession at Papal High Mass, the larger was presented to Pius VII by the great Conqueror, who, characteristically enough, bestowed the crown before taking away the kingdom!

I have often regretted that no committee of good taste and antiquarian learning, in any part of Italy, regulates the decoration of churches, conduct of ceremonies, etc., according to aesthetic principles of Christian art. Such an authority

has, indeed, been created at Rome by Pius IX. but its salutary influences are little felt, from want, either of means or adequate spirit. The absence of that erudition brought to bear upon ecclesiaiical details, — that intelligent interest in the subject so signally revived of late in England, — is painfully felt throughout this country, and gives rise to serious concern when one reflects that, at an epoch distinguished for the disposition to censure and scrutinze the discipline, or arraign the ministers of the Church, the requirement that her system keep pace with intelligence and satisfy the feeling of the age, is more than ever urgent. In the Papal States the deficincy is more apparent than in northern Italy or Toscany. As to Naples, nothing could be more tawdry and offensively childish than the decoration of all but the few greater churches. At every angle appears a waxen Madonna loaded with artificial flowers, tinsel ornaments, and second-rate frippery without the slightest pretension to beauty or grace. The barbarism might be tolerated in connexion with such images as these, but not when allowed to deface the really beautiful; where a Madonna, from the pencil of Guido, embodying a truly divine conception of the heavenly Queen, is disfigured by the flat crowns nailed over the heads of both Mother and Infant, in defiance of all art proprieties. That crowning of pictures is, indeed, a Vandalism, or at, least, misapplication of pious bounties, too patent to claim a single consideration from the point of view where taste and intelligence decide. Not without serious regret does one look on these factitious adornments, nailed (as frequently over Italian altars) to paintings, or even mosaics, of intrinsic value — for can it be other than owned if the subject be reflected on — not an exalted, but a lowered conception of divine or beatified individualities is *thus* suggested to vulgar minds? The great artists of former times rarely, except in the mystic treatment of the corona-

tion-scene where the Blessed Vergin receives her diadem of glory, chose to introduce any such poor insignia of worldly greatness, the *brimborion* of royalty, among attributes of sacred personages; and a well-known ancedote of Michel Angiolo records his indignation at the mere suggestion. Yet the Vatican Chapter (I am sorry to add) continues to set apart a special fund for the coronation of the images of Mary! Votive offerings — in themselves so affecting and natural a practice — have accumulated to grotesque excess in Italian churches: and when one sees the walls of a sanctuary loaded with wretched little daubs, far below the average merit of sign-paintings, representing the perils by land or water from which the devotee has been saved — or little wax models of arms, legs, eyes, ears, and every portion of the human frame — how can one avoid owning that pious intention has been allowed to violate every propriety of expression? Whilst objecting to the tasteless incumbrances of Italian churches, we may refer to a contrast which all will allow to be the highest for Catholic example — the altars of the Vatican and the Pontific chaples at Rome: *there* is splendour of material, with simplicity of form — majestic symbolism without redundance in detail.

I should be sorry to see the very characteristic popular observances of devotion in this country suppressed; but the tide of political events, it is to be feared, will sweep away many olden and beautiful usages, except in mountain districts, or other peculiar strongholds.

With change of manners, new directions given to commerce, and other novelties, are introduced changes in costume, in tastes, amusements etc, though still remains far more of the characteristic and pieturesque in the peasant life of Italy than in northern countries. Still may be found, in this land's remoter regions, and sometimes in its cities, customs connected with religions festival strange and fantastic enough, to have

suited the simplest-minded populations of medieval Europe, and not always to be easily referred to traditions accounting for their origin. The Pagan may, no doubt, be ascribed to some, though much more commonly an exaggerated view of doctrine or devotional teaching, or the local idealisation of a legend may have given rise to singular and scarcely intelligible practises yet prevailing, in all their eccentricity, in central, but still more in southern Italy. At Naples the theatrical and showy, the nearest approachesto the ludicrous are permitted alliance with sacred things. There the « Madonna del Carmine » is especially the popular festival, as in the time of Masaniello, with the tragic conclusion of whose history it is associated: for two nights a temporary facade, macking the church, blazes with coloured lamps, and the quaint Moorish-looking piazza in front resounds to the explosion of mortarsor rockets, and flashes to the glare of fiery wheels; prettily-disposed festoons of lamps are hung across the narrow streets that converge hither; shrines with gay draperies are erected at intervals; military bands perform till midnight; and children sing hymns to the Madonna on an orchestra in the open air, with artless expression. Among observances of obviously Pagan origin, those of the festival of Monte Vergine — a sanctuary some miles from Naples — are among the most pronounced. The *lazzaroni* flock thither in great crowds, and the Saturnalia are revived, in the dissipations to which they give themselves up, after the services of the Church, as nearly as they could easily be among a Christian people. I have been told that for days previously they will abstain, in order to « set to » more vigorously when the feast arrives. The women leave their hair untied, and their gay dresses partially disordered, to join in the dance, in traditional imitation of baccanalian frenzies; but, philologically, the most curious practice is a species of bardic competition, in which songs are improvised, and prizes adjudicated, the

language used actually a mystery to all but a few families, among whom it has been orally handed down, I cannot say from how remote antiquity. The competitors are feasted and brought in cars to the spot, at the expense of the rest. St. Paulinus is honoured by an observance at Nola, of which it is difficult to obtain explanation: huge wooden castles are carried about the streets by several stout bearers on the battlements of which are arrayed figures in fantastic armour, who seem equipped for a pantomime of attack and defence; and the image of the saint, in episcopal robes, is conspicuous on one of these machines. The carnival may be referred to more than one origin in Pagan festivity; but the *Befana* — the mysterious dame who rewards good children with sweetmeats and toys, and withholds her bounties from the naughty, at the season of the Epiphany — has apparently German rather than classic parentage. The *Inchinata*, at Tivoli, is a usage which even the bishops of that place have endeavoured vainly to suppress: on the vigil of the Assumption, one of the many ancient pictures of the Madonna attributed to St. Luke, is carried on a brilliantly-illuminated shrine from the church of the Franciscans, and met on the piazza by an alike antique picture of the Saviour, brought in great pomp from the cathedral, attended by hundreds of torchbearers; arrived opposite each other, under arches of evergreen, the two images are made to do reverence by the bowing down of their bearers, then carried into the Franciscan church, where they remain *vis-a-vis* for the night, and, old women say, may be heard chatting together; the next evening the same salutations are repeated under the triumphal arches, the processions cross, and each image is borne back with the same pomp to its sanctuary. The horse-races (without riders) forming a feature in the rural festivals of most parts of Italy, remind us of certain games in honour of heathen deities. The usual routine of every such village celebration is this: —

Vespers with military music, an illumination, and a fire-balloon, on the vigil; High Mass in the morning with all the splendour of many-coloured hangings, converting the church into a pavilion, and a procession, bearing the image of the saint, banners, torches, etc. through the streets; in the afternoon horse-racing, and in the evening a display of fireworks, which even in the remotest regions are beautiful; moreover a performance at a tiny theatre will, if possible, be bespoken, and the feats of tumblers, athletic exhibitors, conjurors, amply fill up the intervals of feasting and devotion. It must be added, that these gaieties are rarely interrupted by quarrelling, or disgraced by any sort of impropriety; one does not see a person intoxicated during the whole of a day mostly dedicated to amusement and good cheer; every service of the Church is attended by respectful worshippers in crowds; and that love of excitement which otherwise might burst forth into fatal excesses, is thus, by the wise tolerance of Catholicism, allowed an innocent channel, connected with associations salutary and pure.

THE CARNIVAL IN ROME

The analogy between the modern Carnival and the antique Saturnalia of Rome is so striking that the Pagan has become almost identified in idea with the Christian merrimake; but theories of its origin are various among the learned in archaeology, some referring it to the Pagan festivals for a new year; others to the Lupercals of Pan, to the Liberali of Bacchus, or the Quinquatri of Minerva. One authority, Polidore Virgil, is for the latter derivation, arguing from the fact that, during those Quinquatri celebrations, it was the custom, in the rites and revels, to appear masked; (1) but for the masquerading

(1) Two festivals in honor of Minerva were so called, the *major*, of four days, in March, the *minor* on the 13th June. In the latter the chief exhibitors were the professional flute players:

Cur vagus incedit tota tibicen in urbe?
Quid sibi *personae*, quod stola longa volunt?

says Ovid, Fasti VI, VII, where also we have the rather comical

of Carnival many classic precedents may be found, as not only at festivals, banquets, and on the stage, but occasionally in funerals was it the practice of the ancient Romans to wear masks.

Jam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna,

is the Post's anticipation of the restored Golden Age, whose reminiscenses were perpetuated in those singular festivities held, for either five or seven, days, in honor of Saturn, during December, when all business was suspended, no affairs of importance could be treated, and Slaves were permitted to take all endurable liberties with their masters, even to that (most difficult to fear) of telling unwelcome truths; when a wholesome reminder of man's original equality was conveyed in the usage of those who served being waited on at table by their lords; but a darker aspect of superstition also appeared in the gladiatorial combat, now ordered under the idea of the acceptability of human blood to Saturn! In Cybele's rites we might seek for the anticipation of modern Rome's rejoicings, as to their tumultuous nature —

inania tympana tundent;
Ipsa sedens molli comitum cervice feretur,
Urbis per medias exululata vias —
(Ovid, Fasti, IV, 2)

in those of Ceres, besides the image-bearing procession (that might suggest other comparison) was the original of the horse-races, now so conspicuous a feature of Carnival —

but picturesque account of these artists' flight to Tivoli, in a pet at being denied their privilege of feasting in the temples after their performances, and the contrivance by which they are brought back, in tipsy state, to Rome, and, on entering the Forum, *masked* that the adventure may succeed without being discovered by the Senate. Hence the burlesque commemoration:

cultuque novo libet Idibus uti,
Et canere ad veteres verba jocosa modos.

Circus erit pompa celeber, numeroque Deorum
Primaque ventosis palma petetur equis.
(Fasti IV, 3.)

The etymology of « Carnival » has also been disputed — according to the Della Cruscan dictionary, Du Cange, and Muratori, *Carna avaler* — to swallow flesh, gourmandise — referring to the fastings precursory to the season of mortification; according to others, *Carnalia* (« scilecit festa, ut saturnalia »), merely in the sense of carnal amusements; but more commonly received opinion is in favor of *Carnis vale*, « farewell to flesh, » as the obvious derivation.

This feast is called the Carnival, which, being
Interpreted, implies farewell to flesh,

says Byron, upholding the same sense. Totally erroneous, however, is the idea that the Carnival has sprung from the Catholic religion; having, on the contrary, been systematically opposed, condemned, and finally just tolerated by the Church, under modifications varying at different periods. To this day does she labour to counteract its influences, by extraordinary devotions and appeals, by the eloquence of the pulpit, and solemnities of the sanctuary; and nothing more curious is there, connected with the season, than the spectacle presented in Rome of the Church thus *vis a vis* with the world, her measured solemnity in opposition to the riotous festivity she reprobates in her spiritual character, but regulates in the local exercise of her temporal authority, prescribes limits to, and modifies without attempting to suppress. It may be considered in the light of a *transaction*, dictated by prudence and sanctioned by precedent; nor generally unsuccessful, because not of demoralising results. The Senator and Minister of Police issue notifications for the method to be observed in those amusements, whilst, almost at the same moment, the Cardinal Vicar publishes *inviti sacri*, urging the faithful to attendance on the special devotions prescribed for

sanctifying Carnival, and setting forth the express object to withdraw as many as possible from its dissipations, that the Corso and the Theatre may be abandoned for the Via Crucis and the Quarant'Ore. In this aspect, indeed, is all that recommends these annals of festivity to attention, inasmuch as is conveyed a peculiar manifestation of Catholicism, which leaves Folly to go dancing on her way, but provides the antidote to her charmed cup, never denying to man his full liberty of choice: worldly pleasure may use spells to fascinate and enthrall; but she, on the opposite side, presents a glimpse of Paradise to view.

The story of the transition from amusements directly Pagan to those of avowedly Christian reference (or compatible at least with Christian profession) is curious. In the fifth century the Lupercals were, with difficulty, abolished by Pope Gelasius I., who substituted, in their place, the festival of the Purification, to which, in the seventh, Sergius I. gave additional attraction by introducing the procession with consecrated tapers; and *Candlemas* remains, to this day, noted among Protestants though only explainable by its Catholic observance. St. Austerus (who flourished at the end of the fourth, and beginning of the fifth century) speaks of the popular amusements during January, the practise of masking, men disguising as women, and *vice versa*, of course with reprobation. For the Pagan « Calends of January » appears to have been substituted, in the sixth century, the « Festival of Fools » (on the 30th) when was elected a King, who received the title of « Pope of Fools; » and the « Abbot of Misrule, » mentioned by Sir. W. Scott, probably succeeded, in the heritage of buffoonery, to one of these mimic potentates. A game, called « The Ass and Fools, » now came into vogue, of whose continuance we find record up to an advanced period of the middle ages, and which principally consisted in the parading of this mock King, or Pope, about the streets

of cities, mounted on an ass, crowned with grapes, preceded by a fat ox, and surrounded by groups of mumming revellers. In vain did Pontiffs, Councils, and Canons, from the earliest times, oppose such follies. In vain did the most revered Fathers of the Church, Ambrose, Augustine, and Chrysostom, denounce them repeatedly as unfit preparations for the penitential season They kept on their way through medieval tempests; and in comparatively modern times, S. Carlo Borromeo published several pastorals against the Carnival in the diocese of Milan; S. Filippo Neri instituted, at Rome, visits to the seven Basilicas, besides various devotions for sanctification of the frivolous season; the Cardinal Archbishop of Bologna established, in that city, at about the same period, devotions called the *Trent' Ore* (of thirty hours' duration); and in many towns the exposition of the Holy Sacrament was then first introduced in the form still solemnly maintained. At Orleans, in 1595, was held a provincial synod, with the express object of checking the excesses to which Carnival had then been carried. In Rome it was the habit of several Popes to retire annually to the Convent of S. Sabina, to spend the whole period of festivities in religious exercises; and Clement XI. issued briefs, in 1719 and 1724, to prescribe bounds to the extravagances of amusement; Benedict XIV. published, in 1748, an encyclica to the Prelates of the Roman States, to prohibit, as still enforced, the prolongation of Carnival sports after midnight of Shrove Tuesday, and their continuance, in any way, on Fridays or festivals. In the XV century the Florentine Carnival (see the life of Lorenzo di Medici) was celebrated enough to vie with any other; but in the XVI, it seems, the Venetian arrived at its full development, continued without abatement till the end of the last century — see the letters of Gozzi — the custom of masking having then become universal. Varchi, Berni, and other writers of the age, mention the rude diversion, practised among

children, of pelting with stones in the streets — hence the more innocent one of throwing fruit, balls, eggshells, etc., an improvement upon the former; and the abusive one, in annual defiance of Police regulation, of keeping up that combat with vile imitation comfits, besides the genuine sugarplums and flowers, alone sanctioned, so disagreeable to many, and possibly dangerous, in the Roman Carnival.

During the middle ages, and even whilst the Holy See remained at Avignon, the festivities here seem to have been especially *prononcé*! At this period they consisted mainly of games, shows, and races on Monte Testaccio, and in the Piazza Navona, afterwards commuted into races alone, on the slopes of that potsherd-mount, in the Via Giulia (along the northern bank of the Tiber), and in the line of streets from the antique piazza, Campo di Fiori, to the Bridge of St. Angelo. A record of them exists, in a Roman library, dated 1372, describing the cars drawn by oxen, driven up and down the steep slopes of Testaccio. In process of time the Sovereign Pontiffs seem to have become convinced of the necessity of countenancing, in order to check and control these gaieties. The Thursday (popularly *Giovedi Grasso*) and Quinquagesima Sunday had been originally the only days for amusement, till the intervening Saturday was added, to be appropriated to bullfights, as alluded to in a rescript of Martin V. (1425.) Paul I, (a Venetian, elected 1464, perhaps actuated by propensities for Carnival, mindful of its brilliancy distinguishing his native place) established the races, on eight several days, for the prize of a *pallium* (*i. e.* a large banner of cloth of gold, silk, or velvet) still continued as the principal spectacle; and by him was chosen for their locality the great street, which thence received the name of *Corso*, still retained. During his Pontificate the starting-place was not at the Piazza del Popolo, but from the Arch of Marcus Aurelius, near the centre of that street, the goal (as at this day) at the farther limit of

the Piazza di Venezia, where Paul II, with his court, used to witness the spectacle from the windows of the immense castellated palace he had built there. The first occurrence of these races was in connection with other festivities interwoven with Carnival, to celebrate the peace established in 1468, which that Pontiff had labored to bring about, and all Italy was rejoicing for.

The competitors, then, as in earlier times, were assorted for the race in a manner displayng the barbarism of taste that yet prevailed — old men, boys, Jews, horses, asses, and buffaloes, running on successive days for their pallium, one of which was assigned to each class of concurrents. Pope Paul used also, during these days, to give a magnificent banquet to the Senate, distinguished citizens and strangers, and afterwards to throw sums of money from the windows of the Palazzo di Venezia among the crowd. Six cars, covered with red cloth, drawn by heifers and pigs, and rings of silver gilt at the end of poles, for the game of hurling the spear, were among indispensable items in the paraphernalia of Carnival, alluded to in a document of his Pontificate. Again was introduced a pageantry particularly splendid in the Carnival under the pontificate of Paul III, 1545, of which MS. accounts are extant in the Albani and Altieri libraries. The Piazza Navona (otherwise « di Agone, » because the site of the Alexandrine « Circus Agonalis ») was the arena of display on the Thursday, Monte Testaccio on the Tuesday. From the Capitol, where all had mustered, moved the procession: first, mounted trumpeters, dressed in scarlet — next the magistracy — then 7,000 artisans, divided into as many companies as there were arts and trades, amongst whose ranks were drawn, by buffaloes, thirteen triumphal cars, each exhibiting a mythologic, allegoric, or other representation with figures — as the Garden of the Hesperides, Cybele enthroned, the city of Costantinople, a General Council con-

voked against heretics, a battle between Christians and Turks, these pageants escorted by a regiment of pioneers, with artillery and victuallers — the constables of Rome, to the number of 500, following with eighty-two young men, in splendid livery, on steeds richly barded (these being the competitors in the games), and an immense company of musicians; finally, a chariot, bearing the statue of the Pope, with bass reliefs allusive to his virtues, followed by pages, grooms, and the Roman syndics, in the midst of whom walked the *Gonfaloniere*, bearing the standard of Rome, and so superbly clad that he is described « as covered with jewels even to his spurs. » Arrived at the Piazza Navona, the public was entertained by another spectacle, in Vauxhall style, *Mongibello*, or a mimic Etna, that blazed into eruption on a lofty stage. The Pontiff, with his court, used to admire the procession as its ranks filed through the Piazza Farnese, from his ancestral palace, which gives name to that locality. Though all is described as passing in perfect order on this occasion, crime and outrage appear to have disturbed Carnival during the same century, often advantage being taken by evil-doers of the masquerading and confusion, till the time of Sixtus V, who, in keeping with his character as an energetic and stern administrator of justice, tried the agency of terrorism, and shortly before the first Carnival under his Pontificate, caused scaffolds to be erected in public places, with the grim instruments of punishment then in use. This menace took effect, and the festivities were undisturbed, the same reforming Pontiff having also wisely secured their innocuousness, by prohibiting the custom of throwin dust, flour, and squibs, — comfits only were to be substituted for these missiles — a restriction which it is to be regretted can no longer be carried into force — for, though annually ordered that nothing should be thrown in the sportive combats of Carnival save confectionery or flowers, such law (like others in Rome)

is annually, and with impunity, transgressed. The races were improved into their present form about the middle of the seventeenth century, when, in order to give greater width and convenience to the Corso, Alexander VII caused the arch of Anrelius to be taken down, after which the starting-post was transferred to the Piazza del Popolo — a more spacious arena — so that the entire extent of Rome's best modern street, a mile in length and perfectly straight, now constitutes the race course. It is needless to state that the bizarre association of Jews and old men, with asses and buffaloes, has long since been discontinued — as also the bull-fights: horses, without riders, being at present the only runners, sometimes six, sometimes nine, or twelve in number, decked with ribbons, tinsel, feathers, and goads hung to their flanks; but such is the eagerness of their instinct in compepetition, that stimulants appear scarce necessary. On the first and last day, as also on the Thursday, the superior magistrates — namely, senator, governor, conservators, and priors of the Rioni, — attended by several officials, used to pass through the Corso at noon on foot, to give formal sanction for the festivities; but to this is now substituted a carriage procession, in showy and ponderous vehicles escorted by military and mounted pages in antique red and yellow livery, one carryng the pallium destined for the day's prize. At one o'clock the great bell of the Capitol announces that masqueradiag in the streets, from this hour till sunset, is permitted, and the firing of cannon, about an hour before the Ave Maria, gives signal for clearance of the streets from carriages, preparatory to the races, which terminate shortly before sunset. Later, all goes on with the usual order and propriety observed in the streets of Rome at night, and no masks can appear unless on their way to theatres or balls. The *Moccoletti* (the most brilliant and unique spectacle of the Roman Carnival), when lighted wax tapers are carried

in the street, at windows or balconies, in carriages or on foot — and the sport is for everybody to attempt extinguishing every taper within reach (the triumphant cry, « *senza moccolo* deriding the light-deprived) has been called the funeral of Carnival, as if derived from the torch-bearing convoys of the dead, though some refer it, perhaps with more plausability, to the custom of carrying lights in the evening after festivals, to extend as far as possible into night the amusements of the day, among the ancient Romans: whatever its origin, the *Moccoletti* entertainment supplies a *finale* of indescribably beautiful effect — the very poetry of fire; and, as it is the crowning, it is also the unique ornament of the Roman Carnival, no other city having yet adopted it — nor was it, indeed, introduced here earlier than 1760.

The last three days prove climacteric, surpassing the former in showiness, crowding, and tumult; and the playful impetuosity and spirit of innocent fun with which that final amusement is kept up for one hour, continually excite admiration at the geniality and docility, the eager excitability tempered by natural self-controul in this people. Amidst the greatest latitude of gaiety is no abuse or rudeness; amidst the utmost freedom of intercourse compatible with the decorous, no licence that could offend. The example appeals against many stern censures and ill-humoured criticism pronounced against Italian populations, and inspires, if not respect, at least confidence. Those who only see the Carnival as directed by guide-books, know little of one sprightly and characteristic phase that comes last in the gay succesion, the last flickering of the flame about to expire, the strangest, wildest act of the comedy, between the hours of about eleven and one after the midnight of Tuesday. Theatres are not that night much crowded, except perhaps the Apollo, where is the masked ball, which must vanish like smoke

before the fatal hour has sounded, when the revellers are expelled by a slowly advancing battalion of troops marched from the back of the stage to the pit entrances. But now, in the streets, the police good-naturedly connive at frolics that considerably exceed the limits after which, strictly speaking, the season of mortification has succeeded to that of gaieties. I have spent hours on the Corso at this stage of the entertainments, and felt no fatigue, thanks to a scene better than any masquerade, for this is the picture of highest colouring, the most richly seasoned course in the banquet. The crowd in a continual stream, seldom disturbed by the passing of carriages, now displays in wondrous variety travesties the most absurd, while by many is a whimsical assumption of characters, kept up as well, in prose and verse declamations, as if written for and presented on the stage; snatches of opera choruses or favourite airs may be heard from Verdi or Rossini, inarticulate bursts of sound, half screaming, half singing; tinkling mandolins and clattering castanets; sometimes the notes of instruments touched with skill, but a more prevailing tumult of falsetto voices raised at high pitch to converse, or sing, or scream with laughter; yet over all a predominant spirit of genial good-humor, that provokes no suspicion, excites no idea of vice or evil; no quarrelling or intoxication to be observed; no impropriety in the intercourse of sexes, or rudeness in improvised accosting of strangers, while everybody has the assumed right of knowing every body.

Till considerably after midnight one may not see a single official of police or any authority, a single precaution reminding of the possibility or suspicion that evil lurks beneath this gay surface. Such the effect of mildness and confidence towards a people so tempered, that the best security is found in a rational degree of indulgence. Carnival is no longer here the occasion of grand but semi-barbaric pageants

as in the middle ages; but in other Italian metropolises it has already begun to assume a different character, since integral changes have been admitted in principles of government. Thus, at Turin, has it been rendered to a degree historic and national, enlivened by spectacular processions and representations of conspicuous events or epochs, with infusion of new meanings in the apparatus of public amusement, that may be observed vith interest in connection with the phases of national or political life, or as a result of institutions. (1) Here, as at Florence and Naples, nothing of that kind now characterises the shows or amusements of this period; and the Roman Carnival is, in fact, but a brilliant outburst of nonsense, a pantomime of tomfoolery; picturesquely brought on the stage, though void of meanings, and without spirit of nationality.

The devotions for sanctification of this season, at various churches, are attended with more than ordinary splendour, and present indeed, the true, the only enduring interest among

(1) A processional pageant on the history of the Savoy Princes, a Bacchanalian triumph, the Infancy of the Carnival represented by a comic Masque, with the appropriate nurses allegorical attending the colossal Baby — these have been among Carnival shows, in late years, at the Piedmontese capital, satisfactorily evincing that with the progress of free institutions is a natural progress of good sense, giving force and meaning even to spectacular gaieties. The political tempests that have recently passed over Rome have little affected its Carnival, except to deaden or abate, diminish the number and unmask the visages of the revellers; but in 58, the Prelate Governar had the amiable sense to try indulgence instead of distrust, permitting the use of masks for three days, and, the experiment succeeding, that Monsignor won golden opinions, on the next recurrence, by removing all restrictions, so that the Carnival of 59 was a complete reintegration. A prosperous Carnival in Rome is said to bring some 100,000 of scudi into circulation, rejoicing the legion of speculators that eagerly look out for their prey.

its motley aspects. For three day, is an Exposition of the Holy Sacrament at the Oratory of the Jesuits, called after its founder, *Caravita*, where, in the afternoon, are sermons followed by performance of sacred music, with choral singing for which the first vocalists are engaged; and at nightfall the Benediction, with an illumination of the entire building (resembling a public hall rather than a church) producing that effect of brillance and mystery combined so often with admirable skill in the Roman churches, particularly those of Jesuits. Nothing could be more striking than the impression received on passing at once from the noisy frivolities, jostling throngs, and maskerading absurdities on the Corso, into this Oratory (at the distance of only a few yards), where the Divine Presence remains enshrined amidst a splendour that seems scarce earthly, and all is profound silence, only broken by strains of music heavenly as the surrounding scene. In the last century representations in painted figures draped, as the Vision of Ezekiel, the Lamb slain among the Elders in the Mysteries of the Apocalypse, the Multiplication of Loaves, the Miraculous Draught of Fishes, etc. used to be exhibited on the high altar of this much frequented Oratory, as, at present, is the Crucifixion on Good Friday. On Thursday, is the *Quarant'Ore* at SS. Lorenzo e Damaso, with an illumination enhanced in effect by the heavy architecture and sombre aspect of that Basilica attached to the vast Cancelleria Palace, and associated with historic events the most tragic of which was of recent date, one most fatal to the interests of political reform in these states.(1) Every afternoon the devotions of *Carnevale Santificato* are

(1) Count Rossi, murdered on the steps of this palace, when about to open the legislative Assembly as first Minister, 15 November 1848, was buried that night, after being embalmed, in hurry and se-

held at certain churches, occupying hours of the period dedicated to amusements on the Corso; and at SS. Cosmo e Damiano (the interesting old church on the Forum, site of the temple of Romulus and Remus, large congregations attend the preaching of a friar, after the Via Crucis in the Colosseum. That last, indeed, the daily devotion during Carnival, is of all most fraught with feeling and association in sublime contrast to the season's follies; elevating to a sense of the infinite meanings, the « sad, yet grand remembrances, » attached to that stupendous monument of victorious Christianity in the Babylon metropolis of Paganism. Nothing, among Catholic rites, more profound in simplicity than the Via Crucis at the Colosseum. On the last Sunday the *Quarant'Ore* opens at the Gesú, where High Mass is attended by the Cardinals, aud on the evening of Tuesday, immediately after the races, the Benediction is given here with impressive magnificence, for which the Jesuits' Church is unrivalled in Rome, this elosing solemnity being given official character by the presence of the Magistracy, who arrive in state, escorted by military and announced by martial music. Arms gleam in the long aisle; exulting strains swell forth the *Te Deum* and *Tantum ergo*, as the shades of the last evening in Carnival gather round the close, within these marble walls, of a season so wildly gay, by a celebration of religion awe-striking in its pomp of solemn beauty.

The sum of 6,000 scudi, for which the municipality becomes responsible during Carnival (applied to the expenses of the *pallia*, the secondary prizes of thirty scudi bestowed

crecy (outrage even against death being feared!) in the adjoining church where a fine bust by Tenerani stands over the epitaph recording how the constitutional Minister of a reformed government « impiorum consilio meditata caede occubuit. »

also at each day's race, the paraphernalia of public balconies and other items) is appropriated, on recurrence of an Anno Santo, for the benefit of pilgrims then flocking hither from all parts — no carnevalitial amusements being allowed in the consacrated year.

SUMMER IN ROME

The sanitary condition of this city was described by St. Peter Damian, writing to Pope Nicholas II, (eleventh century), in the following grim verses, whose appropriateness is apparent at the season of which I write:

Roma, vorax hominum, domat ardua colla virorum;
Roma, ferax febrium, necis est uberrima frugum;
Romanae febres stabili sunt jure fideles.

And, verily, a thing that strikes with pity and terror is this Roman fever, when witnessed in its effects on those it has absolutely victimised — leaving, where once rooted in the constitution, liability to relapses that shatter and wither, and, though not dangerous at a first attack, almost incurable in old age, or frames already enfeebled. Sometimes, at this period, one may see a poor labourer, whose staggering gait and jaundiced complexion, as he slowly advances in these streets (probably hoping to reach the hospital on foot) clearly mark him out among the victims; or others courting

the danger, if not already its victims, stretched at full-length in sleep on the pavement, or steps of churches, exposed to the glare of the sun, and aggravation of disease. Though it is scarcely possible to stir during the fiery heats of the day, the early morning hours are delicious; exhilarating breezes and balmy atmosphere favour pedestrian activity till about 9 a. m. Then, between 5 and 6 p. m, is first felt the change of temperature preceding hours of delicious refreshment, when windows can be thrown open, the declining sun irradiates without scorching, and the loveliest tints clothe the mountains. And such glorious nights! such a suffusing splendour of golden, rather than silvery, moonlight! A walk along the Forum to the Colosseum is then a rare pleasure. With its yawning arcades in portentous darkness, its less fallen masses standing out in solemn ghostly distinctness, the vast amphitheatre seems magnified even beyond its reality, and idealised into visionary awfulness. Strange is the neglect, not of authorities, but of the people of Rome for this their greatest monument, which they rarely desert their fashionable promenades to visit. In Winter and Spring parties of tourists may be constantly met here; and the English especially, « Murray » in hand, fail not to preform, at least once in a way, the obligatory expedition to the Colosseum by moonlight. But at Midsummer, even on a holiday evening, when all the city is abroad, one may find oneself alone in those gigantic ruins; and the last time I visited them, on one of these splendid nights, except the sentinel on duty and a few hurried passengers crossing the arena as a short cut to their homes, all was solitary as silent. The polite admonition in French that, being nine o'clock, there was no further admission into the Colosseum, jarringly disturbed my meditations. Outrages of which these ruins were once the theatre, long since induced the Government to place a guard here at night, and since the French con-

quest that responsibility has been handed over to the foreign forces; but I have heard of evil deeds perpetrated within these glomy vaults even in recent years.

In other directions moonlight walks are enjoyable at this season, and sometimes afford occasions for observing popular life in picturesque aspects. On the steps of the Capital, or those of the loftier flight before the old Franciscan church that crowns its eastern summit, or the broad extent of stairs before S. Maria Maggiore, one may see groups of labourers reposing after their toil in the fidels — manÁ perhaps to spend the night thus *al fresco* — in their perennial costume that consists of small-clothes, a loose jacket hanging over one shoulder, a broad brimmed black hat or woollen cap of suspicious shape that might be compared to that called after « liberty; » and in the earlier hours, while some are stretched full-length asleep, some securing coolness by an unceremonious change of toilette — that is, stripped naked to the waist — may be heard from these groups the tinkling sound of the mandolin, a clear ringing music that joyously breaks on the stillness, vindicating the claims to skill on this instrument by the *popolani*, particularly the Trasteverines, in Rome. It is satisfactory that the police, otherwise so troublesome and suspicious here, never disturb the repose and hard-won innocent pleasures of these poor sons of toil. Passing late one evening by the Theatre of Marcellus — the enormous segment of which, alone preserved from decay, has been dove-tailed into the buildings of the Orsini palace, its arcades on the ground — floor appropriated as workshops or paltry stores — I observed a scene that would have enraptured an artist: a blacksmith was beating out iron at a furnace in a brazier, whose light received a commingling glare from a torch held by a boy, and the strong red lustre flashed across the dusky pile above, bringing into relief its details of decayed

architecture, arches, pilasters, and mouldering cornices, with effect the most striking conceivable.

Above all is this the season in Rome for popular devotions — not alone the customary routine of pomps at St. Peter's or the Sistine (where the deportment of crowds generally interferes in every possible way with solemnity of impressions) but for that which is most characteristic, graceful and earnest in Italian Catholicism. The 15th of August (festival of the Assumption) is the only occasion when the Papal benediction is given at S. Maria Maggiore, and, notwithstanding the overwhelming heat of the hour it occurs (nearly noon), the attendance, both within and without the church, invariably immense. The poorer, however, prevail over the rich and well-dressed in that crowd, and several of the former, in their fustians and jackets, may be observed reclining on the steps of lateral chapels, some even *sleeping*, quite undisturbed by the usually rigorous Swiss Guards, even during the superb ceremonial at the high altar of this majestic Basilica. The architecture of this interior, fortunately preserved in all the magnificent simplicity of the early type, through the several restorations effected, seems singularly favourable to the effect of the vast procession, when the Pope is carried on his throne under a wide canopy, after the long-drawn grouping of Cardinals, canons, and prelates, between files of motley-vested troops. And when the Benediction is given from the loggia, the mitred company round the Pontiff, the tiara and *flabella*, show finely against the warm grey of architecture under the shadow thrown by a spacious awning, contrasting its pleasant dimness with the dazzling glare on every object below. Wherever a projection or angle afford shelter, crowds of spectators, mostly of the humbler order, respectfully kneel to receive the blessing; and the phalanxes of troops in the centre add to the unwonted animation of a spot generally left to quiet, being far

from all fashionable regions of Rome. On the evenings both of the vigil and festival of the 15th, are illuminations, not remarkable for splendour, so much as for the partecipation of humblest citizens, whose paltry dwellings may be observed in some places lit up with more taste and profuseness, proportionately, than the palaces of the great. Another festival this month at S. Maria Maggiore commemorates the poetic legend of that Basilica's origin, according to which, in the year 352, a certain patrician and the Pope Liberius had on the same night a vision, in which the Virgin commanded both alike to found a temple, dedicated to herself, on the Esquiline Hill, and precisely on the spot where a shower of snow should fall the next day. To the astonishment of all citizens (for it was the 5th of August) it was announced that morning that snow had fallen, and was resting over a wide space on the Esquiline. The patrician having communicated his dream to the Pope, the latter determined immediately to raise the new temple, and its plan was traced on the miraculous snow by Liberius himself, the expense being provided entirely by Johannes (the patrician), who had already determined on dedicating his wealth to some pious object. How early belief obtained in this legend is still attested by the valuable mosaics, of the XIV century (not therefore among the more ancient in Rome) on the upper story of the façade of this church, now, unfortunately, in part concealed by the arches of a tasteless and heavy loggia added by Benedict XIV. Here, round a central and impressive figure of the Saviour, is represented in a series the entire story of the origin of the building, from the twofold vision to the tracing of its plan on the snow. Ascending to this loggia, one may observe how astonishing is the freshness of tints preserved in this interesting work. The festival of the *Madonna della Neve* still manifests the acceptance of this miracle as fact, and is distinguished by superb ceremonies, by an unusual

concourse throughout the day, and especially at the early masses in that Borghese Chapel, dedicated to the Virgin, which is absolutely built of precious stones — all covered with costly marbles, gilt brònzes, and paintings. When the Cardinal Vicar begins the great celebration at the high altar, is heard a flourish of trumpets from without; assistants with cross and holy water proceed to the great portals, thrown open to their full extent, for the state entrance, with escort formed by servants in quaint red and yellow livery, of the Municipality, proudly styled the Senate of Rome, who proceed, in robes of black velvet, to hear Mass at a lateral altar, and make offering (as they are *ex officio* required to do at several churches every year) of a silver-gilt chalice and patena, with a certain number of wax torches. During the High Mass is introduced a singular and graceful allusion to the miraculous snow-storm — showers of white rose-leaves rain down from two apertures in the elaborate carving of the flat ceiling, so as to strew the pavement around the altar; and this continuing nearly the whole time, the splendid group of clergy beyond, the tapers, incense, and sacred symbols, are seen through a species of leafy mist, with effect unique among combinations of devotional pomp in Rome. But most characteristic and popular of all is the festival of the *Madonna del Carmine*, in Trastevere, when an immense procession passes, late in the evening, through the principal streets of that quarter, almost exclusively possessing what remains of the medieval in Rome, and retaining to the day its peculiarities of dress, manners, dialect, and, it is believed, of race also, distinct from all other regions of this City. This procession is about a mile long, and there seems no end of torches, immense banners painted wth sacred figures and so ample that through the narrower streets their bearers, two for each, must advance at different lines, and, high towering above all other objects, huge crosses, resembling the gnarled

trunks of secular forest-trees—no end of Confraternities in long white or coloured habits, priests and friars, all carrying torches, which pious Trasteverines vie with each other in producing the largest obtainable — pillars of wax they might be called — to carry in this procession; and often is the bearer, in his fraternity-costume, seen tottering under the weight of wax supplied, in every istance, not by the clergy, but by these lay-assistants. Lastly, amidst a group of priests and friars, appears what many will regret to see as central object to such celebrations — a gaily dressed image of the Madonna on a kind of over-canopied stage of gilt woodwork, lit by some 100 tapers, the figure itself in the fashion of perhaps sixty years ago, and all blazing with jewels. Along the line many houses are decorated with scarlet hangings, curiously contrasting against their sombre irregular architecture and dingy walls, sometimes in still stranger relief against displays below of such articles on sale as large cheeses, hams, and serpent-like sausages. The wooded slopes of the Janiculan, here and there seen in glimpses, forming a vista at the end of tortuous irregular streets, contribute to that impression received from the general aspects of Trastevere, that reminds one a large straggling village or remote market-town, such as seen in the least-frequented highways of Italy, rather than a regionin a modern metropolis. The hushed interest and subdued emotion of the dense crowds that line the streets where this procession passes, can leave no doubt of sincerity, and during the night-hours that follow, though every place of refreshment is thronged, no quarrelling, no intoxication disturbs the streets, whatever may happen in the *osteria* — the Trasteverines, in spite of a certain independent swagger and picturesque ferocity, being, on the whole, good sort of people, open-hearted, plain-spoken, and devout — at least till they forget themselves in excitement. No authority can eradicate from among them the practice of car-

rying the clasp-knife; and tragic are the results when it is drawn, as not seldom in the heat of wine or passion, for other purposes than cutting bread and meat. Where the Englishman would be satisfied with a blow, the Trasteverine stabs, and deems it the natural right of the injured to « break within the bloody house of life ».

There is a little church near the Vatican appropriated to the grooms of the Papal Court, and containing an image of St. Anna seated with the infant Mary, as to which prevails the popular belief that the wood of which it is fashioned never can decay, though that of the chair, whereon the figure sits, has often to be renewed. On the vigil of St. Anna's festival, in August, certain members of a female sodality attached to this church repair thither; and with closed doors perform the office of undressing and redressing the figure, changing every article from the chemise to the ornaments, of course to attire St. Anna with proper splendour for the pageant, in which she is carried processionally, attended by all the Vatican grooms and livery servants of Cardinals in the habit of a pious confraternity. This is the great ovation of the season in the Borgo, as the *Madonna del Carmine* in the Trastevere region. Such extravagant simplicity, such tenacious adherence to the externals of mediæval devoteism, does tradition, and instinct demand to please the popular feeling in Rome; — « not choice, but habit rules the unreflecting crowd » — though instruction from the pulpit and in the schools refers all to a *principle*, in itself rational, and reconcileable with Christianity as its divine precepts are accepted by almost all parties. The practice, however, lamentably exceeds, I may say *caricatures*, the authorized precept.

The festival of the Prince of Apostles, with its octave, forms in many respects the most locally remarkable of the ecclesiastical year in Rome; for, while the great commemorations of the Church are essentially the same in all cities

where Catholicism is established, this derives splendour and import from the immediate proximity of the throne founded by St. Peter, no where else developed to the same degree.

The Vigil is, besides that of the Nativity, the only occasion when Vespers are solemnised by the Holy Father in St. Peter's; and observances are connected with this, and the ensuing celebrations, too remarkable to be passed unnoticed. When the procession, in which the Pontiff is borne on the portative throne, from his apartments to the basilica, has reached the Sala Regia, the master of the Pontific cursors (or mace-bearers) intimates the fourth citation for the annual payment of canons and tributes, due to the Camera Apostolica (or Papal Exchequer), which, if not satisfied on this or the following day, devolve entirely to the fiscal department. This citation is made, in three instances, on the same morning, in the Court of St. Damasus, better known as that of the Loggie of Raffael, in the name of the Fiscal Procurator, who makes the fourth repetition, kneeling, at the centre of the hall when the Pontific retinue arrives. The Pontiff then reads a formula of approbation — « Protestationem tuam in omnibus admittimus, » etc.; the procession descends the great stair-case, and at one extremity of the atrium of St. Peter's, is met by the Cardinal Camerlengo, the Clerics, Advocates, and other Ministers, composing the *personnel* of the Camera, when the Fiscal Procurator himself makes a protest respecting the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza revolving on the fact, that these Duchies formerly paid tribute to the Holy See — « Cum hujusmodi possessio plurimis ab hinc annis per saecularem potestatem occupata fuerit, et detineatur, hinc est, quod ego, Sanctitatis Vestræ et Cameræ Apostolicæ Procurator fiscalis generalis, contra occupationem et detentionem prædictam protestor, eundemque statum ad S. Sedem Apostolicam plene jure spectare declaro, etc. » On this the Pontiff reads a formula avowing the claim, and

the procession moves on to the portal, where it is received by the Cardinal Archpriest and Chapter of the Vatican, and the majestic chant of the « Tu es Petrus » swells forth as it advances up the nave. Homage is offered at the throne before the singing of Vespers. After the benediction chaunted by his Holiness, which gives termination to the service, an auditor of Rota, the consistorial advocates and mace bearers, with a ceremonialist, repair to the confessional (above the tomb of St. Peter) and there receive from the hands of the canon who holds the office of « Altarista, » a silver vessel containing the palii of lambswool, which have been placed before this sanctuary in the morning of the same day; these being carried to the throne, are blessed by the Pontiff, with a triple aspersion and incensing, in a form prescribed by Benedict XIV., who first originated this rite in its actual observance, the blessing of the palii having previously been left to the Cardinal archpriest, or one of the mitred canons of St. Peter's. The consistorial advocates must intervene at this rite, because it derolves on one of their college to make instance, in the private consistory, for the pallium sent by the Holy See to metropolitans; the auditor of Rota, because it is to the Dean of this tribunal that the lambs annually blest at the basilica of St. Agnes, during the pontifical Mass for the festival, (of whose wool the palii are made), are consigned, to be sent to some Convent and there reared by nuns; the Altarista, as custode of the coffer, of silver gilt, in which the palii remain, till severally required, on the sepulchre of the apostle, and the key of which is in charge of the first master of ceremonies.

Up to the vear 1787 the procession, on leaving the church after these Vespers, used to halt opposite the great portal for reception of the tribute called the Chinea (or palfrey), from the King of the Two Sicilies. The Constable Colonna, or in his absence some Cardinal deputed, appeared as Am-

bassador of Neapolitan Majesty, leading a white horse, and holding a silver vase, that contained 7,000 gold ducats. Both he presented to the Pontiff, with profession of homage, in Italian, to which his Holiness replied in Latin: « Censum hunc nobis et sedi Apostolicæ debitum pro directo dominio regni nostri utriusque Siciliæ eis ultraque pharum, etc.» The advisers of Ferdinand IV. having induced him, in the above-named year, to withhold the Chinea, the sum of money was still offered in the usual amount, but refused by Pius VI., and in the following year that Pontiff protested against the omission in an allocution before the Vespers for this vigil. The King of Naples in turn protested against the refusal of his offering, which, he declared, was not a tribute in political sense, but an act of devotion to the Apostles. The protest of the Papal Government, though of course reduced to mere formality, has been ever since annually renewed; and when, after High Mass on St. Peter's day, the procession passes down the nave towards the great entrance, the Procurator-General, the Commissary General, and other ministers of the Camera meet it at the place where the Chinea used to be offered, where the first of those officials reads a protest, to which the Pontiff replies in positive terms, asserting the right in question, but with conciliatory language, as to the dispositions of the Neapolitan Crown. (1)

A few years since, the ceremony of protesting derived more than usual import from a circumstance unforeseen. After the book from which the formula is read had been closed, and the Cardinals etc., were about to advance in the

(1) This formality has been recently abolished, in natural consequence of the personal relations between Pius IX and the Neapolitan King, who for the last time offered the tribute, now to be accepted, and the « accommodation » agreed upon amicably terminated the delicate question.

procession, Pius IX. added another clause, to the effect: « We protest also against another Catholic King, who, for three years, has failed to advance the tribute due to the Holy See, but from whom we trust to receive satisfaction ere long, by his filial discharge of obligations towards us— » (the precise words I cannot undertake to give, but such their import). This unexpected interpolation excited surprise and eager attention; who the recalcitrant Prince was, deemed failing towards the Holy See and thus emphatically reproved, became speedily known— the King of Sardinia, within whose dominions certain possessions claimed by the Papal Throne, insignificant as to extent, having hitherto yielded a tribute of 2,000 scudi per annum, that sum had always been paid at the festival of St. Peter by the Piedmontese Minister, who used to offer a wooden chalice gilt, containing a bank-note for the amount. The anti-ecclesiastical tendencies, lately manifest in the Cabinet of Turin, were expressed anew by the withholding of this tribute to Rome, and the trifling amount of the sum might be said to enhance, by inverse ratio, the alienation implied in its refusal. One curious circumstance attending this spontaneous protest was, that the Minister of Sardinia assisted, in his place among the rest of the Diplomatic Corps, at the solemnity of St. Peter's day, without having any notion of what was intended in reference to his Government!

Writers hostile to the Holy See have endeavored to throw discredit or ridicule on its claims to a species of suzerain sovereignty over the Two Sicilies, and the *Quarterly Review* once observed that the Court of Rome has always acted on the principle of « never recording the abandonment of a claim. » But before we find fault, we must remember by what titles the Papal Sovereignty is admitted among the powers of Europe; that, in its transactions with foreign states, it possesses no other than moral force to back its claims;

that, in consequence, its policy must be the policy of the weak towards the strong — the assertion of traditionary right, the appeal to sense of duty and justice. The annals of the past tell us, distinctly, that the famous Robert Guiscard, about 1059, having united in his person the twelve earldoms into which the Norman barons had divided Apulia — having conquered Calabria, the principalities of Salerno and Benevento — accepted for all these dominions a feudal title from the Pope, ccding to the Holy See the city and district of Benevento as an immediate possession; that when Frederic of Arragon mounted the throne of Sicily, he sent Andrea Doria to Rome (in 1303), to pay homage for that kingdom, and in stipulating to hold his crown of the Holy See, pledged himself to a yearly tribute of 3,000 ounces of gold, besides the maintenance of 100 knights in the service of the Pope. Earlier still, when Charles of Anjou was crowned King of Sicily at St. Peter's, in 1278, after assisting the Pope as equerry in the procession, serving him at table before taking his place beside him in the banquet, he solemnly renewed the oath of fealty, paying homage for the crown of the Two Sicilies to Nicholas III. As for the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza, these, originally included in the Exarchate, having passed under the dominion of the Holy See through the exertions of Julius II., who laid claim to them, were afterwards bestowed by Paul III, in 1545, on his own kinsmen, the Farnese; and when the male line of that house was extinct, Don Philip, Infant of Spain, received them in right of inheritance from his mother, Elisabetta Farnese, Queen of Philip V.

This festival and the rites peculiar to it seem to reach the very noonday of splendour, beyond which it would be impossible for religious celebration to be carried:

Rise, crowned with light, imperial Salem, rise!

are words suited to the majesty with which Papal Rome now presents herself. That procession and that grouping in the san-

ctuary, the robes of crimson and gold tissue, the sparkling gems, midst clouds of incense, the statuettes and candelabra exquisitely chiselled in silver and gold, the pyramids of flowers and costly embroidery amidst the hundred lights of the marble-encrusted Confessional over the Apostle's tomb, seem altogether like a vision of sacred pageantry, certainly never surpassed by any pomps of worship, while the subdued light spread over all through crimson-curtained windows, softens to finer harmony the effect of concentrated magnificence. The subterraneans, only public during the octave of this festival, contain more that interests in connection with the past, more that is historic and devotional in art, than al the vast extent and incalculable wealth of the modern edifice above can show. Here is indeed the most precious museum of medieval art in Rome. Sculptures, for the most part of the latter half of the XV century, by artists unknown; monumental effigies and mosaics of higher antiquity, reliefs of sacred groups, some barbaric and rudely executed, others beautiful, all, at least, superior in this respect to the majority of monuments in the upper church, that they betray no *Paganism* of taste or feeling. Finest and most renowned among works of early Christian sculpture here, the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, Prefect of Rome, (who died A. D. 359) covered with reliefs of sacred subjects truly admirable for its period, the figures generally correct and expressive; among scriptural groups, the Saviour seated between Saints Peter and Paul, his footstool the heavens, represented by a man with a mantle over his head flowing in semicircular folds (a Pagan idea) — the story of Adam and Eve, the Sacrifice of Abraham, Daniel in the Lion's Den, Christ entering Ierusalem, and the arrest in the garden of Gethsemane, but no other scene from the story of the Passion. The sarcophagus of Gregory X, also antique, is very valuable for its early Christian reliefs — Christ seated on a rock

from which issue the four streams of Paradise, and others, one of which is a beautiful allegory, the Saviour laying his hand on the head of a child, to signify the union with Deity attained through purity of heart! Among the statues of Popes, is one of Benedict XII, holding the keys, with traces of red paint, which Torrigio states it was formerly covered by, like those of certain Deities and Emperors in ancient Rome; and of others noticeable, is the tomb of Boniface VIII, with a rudely executed but expressive head to the recombent statue; Alexander VI, with a better countenance than might be expected in such a man; and near him, the tomb of the English Pope, consisting of a plain granite sarcophagus with ornamental heads on the cover, but no other sculptures; (1) the recumbent statues of Nicholas V and Paul II, showing progress in the style and finish of XV century art; but most elaborate and interesting as evidences of that progress, are the reliefs of the Resurrection and Last Judgment, the stories of SS. Peter and Paul, from a chapel founded by the last-named Pontiff, and the Evangelists from a tabernacle erected by Innocent VIII. Among the mosaics, those from the tomb of Otho II (whose sarcophagus is here) curiously illustrate the arts of the X century,— the Saviour of stern and sallow countenance, with St. Peter and St. Paul, the former holding *three* keys; the figure of John VII, with a *square* nimbus to the head, represents art in the eighth century; an angel copied from Giotto, various reliefs, and a remarkably fine colossal head of St. Bruno (mosaic) are interesting examples of progress in later ages. The small chapel whose altar is the actual tomb of St. Peter, is impressive from its gorgeous gloom,

(1) A monument to Adrian IV was projected, and admirably designed by the sculptor Gajassi a few years since; but the project of raising it by subscription in England was not deemed reconcileable with the many other claims upon the charity of Catholics in that country.

gilt bronzes and coloured marbles, sculptures and painting, in the dim light of ever burning lamps, but in a modern style far from appropriate to the high sanctities of such a *religio loci* as must be felt presiding here. A walk through these gloomy aisles and chapels, only to be examined by torchlight, may be amply suggestive to meditation on the Past, on the destinies of Rome and of Christianity, but recollections of horror and crime are tragically blended with those of holiness, of triumphant faith, and constancy leading to well-earned victories.

The fiery element has never been made subservient to the grandeur of symbolism as in the illumination of St. Peter's, given, on the vigil of this festival, as at Easter. In other cities spectacles as brillant might be presented, but none certainly of equal sublimity, in *expression*, to that solitary pile, rising like a mountain of light amidst the surrounding darkness, which no meaner fires attempt to dispel, and that seems an emblem of Christianity irradiating the gloom of sorrowful existence.

The first illumination, beautifully as it developes every line of architecture, the dome, the lantern and cross, and the superbly sweeping colonnades, is far surpassed by the second, announced, about an hour later, by the chiming of the great bell: a meteor seems suddenly to blaze on the cross, and instantly the whole is changed from its former mild lustre to a more lurid and portentous resplendance, like

— battlements that on their restless fronts
Bore stars.

The spectator should stand on the Piazza before the church to receive the full impression of this marvellous transition, — the colonnades, the facade, and, not least beautiful, the fountains that glisten like gems in the red light. But, for the dome, the Pincian or Quirinal hill are the best sites, and the illumination continues sufficiently long for every point of view to be

enjoyed. The visionary splendour of the vast pile is never to be forgotten; but its *meaning*, applying especially to Easter, is what gives the highest interest to this spectacle — the Church rejoicing in, and glorified by, the Resurrection of her Lord. The idea of this display belongs to primitive antiquity. A lofty campanile, built by Leo IV, used to be illuminated at this same aniversary, honoring the feast of the great Apostle with the first tribute of the kind, afterwards so brilliantly improved on. In the VIII century the Basilica used to be lit up on three occasions annually, both inside and outside, the portico in front (called *Paradisus*) being then interwoven with a species of network (*retia*) in festoons of lamps. Not least striking, though least observed, is the effect of the cupola as gradually, between 10 and 11 o' clock, that wondrous illumination becomes extinguished, and it might be compared to a ruined fabric of light, sinking and disappearing as we gaze upon it.

The primitive design of the *Girandola*, given on the evening that follows, was Michel Angelo's, afterwards carried to perfection by Bernini, and now annually designed by Poletti, the professor of architecture of St. Luke's. It begins and concludes with a discharge of 4,500 rockets, that sweep with a loud rushing sound to incalculable height, as if discharged with terrific impetus from the crater of a Volcano. In the interval is presented a succession of fairy-like temples, or other fantastic fabrics defined in light, for which, on each occasion, a great variety of designs is prepared, the expression of loyalty to the reigning Pontiff usually a principal object, manifest in the luminous tracery of some classical facade which, fading avay, gives place to fountains rising in graceful stories of water, gardens with decorated terraces, and, sometimes, the whole architectonic framework revealed as if on fire within, or exposed to besieging batteries. In late instances the second *seappata* of rockets has not

formed the conclusion, but been succeeded by a display of Bengal lights at the sommit of masts ranged round the piazza, kindled all at once by a rocket sent from the height above, like a cammunicating thunder-bolt, and thus throwing a broad lurid glare over the sea of heads that throng that ample space, with peculiarly striking effect. The tranquillity and perfect good humor invariably prevailing among Roman crowds, on this and like occasions, must be noticed to their credit. At the Castle of S. Angelo this spectacle was more impressive, owing to the isolation and gloomy massiveness of its huge tower: but the present location on the Pincian is favorable also, whilst ensuring greater convenience to the spectators, and no area could be more suitable than the Piazza del Popolo for the enjoyment of such a sight by the crowds densely thronging it. Other cities celebrate festivals in merely human objects — but Rome claims the distinction of a high priesthood even in her public rejoicings, and, alone on earth, prepares her highest festivity for anniversaries associated only with events of universal, of Christian importance.

Another popular festivity of devotion and gaiety blending — held annually on Whit-Monday, gives occasion to observe the cheerful and lighthearted temper of these citizens, in the artisan classes at least. The *Madonna del Divino Amore* is the dedication of a solitary, otherwise unfrequented little chapel on the Campagna, about eleven miles from Rome, where is a celebration this day to which the concourse of the working classes generally, is immense. Families will stint themselves in their ordinary comforts for weeks beforehand, rather than forego the pleasures of this day, the attendance at Mass in the Madonna's Sanctuary, the feasting in open air, and, above all, the drive across country in open vehicles all clad in their best clothes. Many start at daybreak, spend the day at the Masses and the junkets in open air; at last,

towards sunset, begins the endless processiou of carriages (whimsically improvised sorts of conveyances, when nothing better can be afforded) with the returning parties, who stop to finish the feasting, or for one glass more, at places of refreshment on the Campagna, and afterwards drive into the City at full gallop, men and women all bringing back, as trophies of this pilgrimage, artificial flowers or sundry tinsil ornaments in hats of braided hair. This is a sort of Carnival in humble life which many artists have studied for their Italian groupings, and which multitudes, citizens or strangers, not participating in the same, attend as spectators, either at the scene of action, or at shorter distances outside the Porta S. Giovanni, more or less advaneing to meet, on the Campagna, the returning cavalcade this evening. Most remarkable is it, that with all their exuberant gaity, evidently under influences of good cheer, as well as those of purer enjoyments under genial skies, no sort of irregularity, or discord nothing that overclouds or disgraces the revels of the Roman populace is commonly to be observed at this joyous gatherring for devotion and feasting — the Madonna and Bacchus seamingly confounded together in the idea presiding, the tra[illegible]ons directing such observance.

Turning from the sacred to the profane, a favourite amusement of this people peculiar to the month of August, prepared twice a week in the Piazza Navona, must deserve notice both from its singularity and effect as an animated picture. That largest piazza in Rome, surrounded by old houses of almost every height and shape, that look tumbled together by accident, with the dome-capped church of St. Agnes and two handsome palace fronts of modern Italian style (the Braschi and Pamfili), presents a scene to be forgotten by none who have ever visited this City. Here is held, every Wednesday, a market of all imaginable miscellanies, from old books to old iron; and every morning, the great fruit

and vegetable market — a display that fills with a sense of the bounties of Providence towards this favoured land, and at this sesson particularly beautiful to behold, with its rich profusion of goodly produce, piles of luscious plums, melons peaches, apricots, the fig of the second harvest annually yielded by that tree, and (still more welcome) the grape in sueh abundance, as appeared at last, promising return of joyous vintages and overflowing measures of wine for rich and poor, after long years of desolating blight. Every Saturday and Sunday in August is the spectacle I allude to on this piazza, consisting of neither more nor less than an *inundation*, produced by stopping the conduits of two large fountains in its centre, adorned with fantastic sculptures by Bernini, and directing their waters over the surface of the parallelogram, whose old pavement, evidently unrepaired for centuries, sinks towards the middle, thus forming a convenient receptacle for the *lago*, as the Romans call it. Nothing more displays the childlike vivacity of this people (Carnival proceedings excepted) than the gathering on the Piazza Navona, in the freshness of evening after a sultry day, for the sake of enjoying a sight so insignificant in itself, but rendered picturesque by the accessories of quaint buildings and the heterogeneous crowds surrounding the waters on the space left dry before the houses, and reflected on their surface, though now far from the purity of crystal, stained to a dusky yellow by the accumulations off the incumbered pavement. At one limit, on the side of the piazza unflooded, is a mounted guard; and a military band, stationed on a raised orchestra before the church, occasionally enliven the public by a burst of music; the balconies, projecting from almost every window, some at stupendous height, are occupied by groups, among whom may be noticed many a fair face under a veil, or with head only covered by the braided hair; and in the midst all attention is fixed upon

the feats of coachmen and horses, as open vehicles of every description are driven about at all the speed possible, dashing and plashing along, at evidently exhausting labour to the poor animals, who, in the deeper parts, are almost breast-high under the tawny waves. Whence could have originated, and with what idea, it may be asked, this whimsical entertainment, performed annually at cost of the municipality, and dignified by the presence of the Pope's standing army? One may imagine it a faint reminiscence of the Naumachia, often displayed on this very spot in the Alexandrine Circus; or perhaps a sanitary expedient for cooling the atmosphere at the period of most fever-striking sultriness. Whatever the motive, it was in 1651, and in the month of June, not August, that this aquatic show first delighted Rome's citizens, under Innocent X. — a pontificate peculiarly associated with the Piazza Navona, where, a few years previously, had been raised the Pamphili Palace for the family of Pope Innocent, but, immediately, for the use of that famous Donna Olimpia, his sister-in-law; a lady who, for a time, was *de facto* head of government here (as, during the absence of Alexander VI., was his perhaps calumniated daughter, Lucretia), though not with equal scandal to that of the Borgia annals, no other blame attaching to the memory of Innocent X. than for having boundlessly confided, with the weakness of old age, in a clever, brilliant, and unscrupulously ambitious woman. (1) His successors continued to sanction the entertainment on this piazza till, twenty four years afterwards, it was suspended by Innocent XI, under apprehension of prejudicial effects to the atmosphere; but, early in the eighteenth century, a work by the physician of Clement XI, on the climate of Rome, proving, among other theories, that this inunda-

(1) See the defence of her character, against a calumnious biography, in the documents appended to Ranke's History, v. 111.

tion could not be nocuous, was consequently permitted its renewal by that excellent Pontiff (Albani), whose reign of twenty years ranks among the happiest for this country. Fear of pestilence led to another temporary suspension in that century, and once, in the present, (the year '37) the visitation of cholera induced Gregory XVI. to prohibit this spectacle. Since an earlier interruption on account of the « Anno Santo, » 1750, it is said that this entertainment has continually been declining, as to the concourse and character of spectators at least; and it is now the general wail, that the last revolution has spoilt all amusements, deadened all the periodical vivacities, of the Roman populace. Formerly, I am assured, Cardinals, prelates, nobles, and often royalty itself, when among guests here, used to honour the Piazza Navona by presence on these occasions; and certain Roman princes used obligingly to make themselves and their guests a part of the show by eating and drinking at abundantly spread tables, in open chariots, or on platforms raised amid the waters. More rigorous etiquette among the higher clergy, and perhaps the importation of more foreign conventionalities among the aristocracy, have resulted in the withdrawal of all this *haut ton* from the August entertainments in the old piazza; and the Naiads are now left to their watery domain here, intruded on — as regards at least a majority of the assemblage — only by the *bas peuple*, who nevertheless enjoy themselves quite as much in the absence of their superiors. This same piazza was, in the Middle Ages, chief centre to the spectacles of Carnival, which, since the latter years of the fifteenth century, have been entirely diverted into another stream, the all-absorbing Corso, rendezvous of wealth, gaiety, and folly in Rome.

Whoever passes the month of August in any city of these states, will soon, if he frequent cafès of any pretentions, become familiar with the auguries offered in the formula *fier*

Augusto (or *fer'agosto*) something between compliment and petition, usually supported by a sonnet, written for the anniversary with that wonderful alacrity in manufacturing such goods, common among Itations everywhere; a printed copy of this is distributed to all customers by the well-dressed *garcons*, but not without expectations of gratitude in silver returns. The usage is more venerable than many of those profiting thereby are likely to know. The festival of Augustus and that of Hope, whose temple on the Forum Olitorium was dedicated the same day, coinciding in the month called after that Emperor, the Church, finding the traditionary observance too popular to he easily destroyed, acted with her usual discretion in retaining what was innocent, and consecrating the intention to Christianity. The twofold Pagan festival became that of the chains of St. Peter, celebrated with most marked solemnity at *S. Pietro in Vincoli*, where the Apostle's chains are enshrined, now to be exhibited, as the great treasure of that church: *ferrare Agosto* hence became the familiar expression in the newly consecrated sense, and the usage sprung up among Christians, in early ages, of inviting each other to dinner on this festival. The present August observance, extending over the whole month, is a modern modification, certainly in no connection with piety, but so profitable to the ministers of the café, that, I am told, at a fashionable establishment in Rome, where these compliments of the season are thrown into a common fund, each may receive his portion, at the end of the month, in the amount of some 10 or 12 scudi.

One of the advantages secured to the studious in Rome under her present Ruler, is the Museum formed in the Tabularium of the Capitol, the nucleus of which had existed long previously, though not for public benefit, in consequence of the appropriation of those great gloomy corridors in the ancient edifice as a part of the debtors'prison. Here are to be observed

additions of value lately made to a collection quite unique, comprising all the most remarkable fragments of architecture detached from the original buildings, or brought to light by the excavating of antiquities. The plan has been adopted of restoring in stucco those portions of which the dispersed fragments are most numerous and beautiful, so as to present entablatures, friezes, and cornices, often in large masses and of richest character. Among these are two of the finest specimens of the Corinthian preserved from antiquity — one off the front of the Temple of Vespasian (previously, and still popularly, called that of Jupiter Tonans), with the *galerum* and sacrificial implements of the flamens in relief on the frieze; the other, all that remains from the entablature of that Temple of Concord in which the Senate met and Cicero declaimed, on occasion of the Catiline Conspiracy — nothing of which edifice remains on its site, immediately under the Tabularium, upon the Forum, but the stylobate, on an elevated platform, with the pavement and threshold of precious coloured marbles, strewn with fragments of shafts and capitals. The secret staircase, first discovered on the recent removal of the debtors from these ancient buildings, supposed to be the ingress by which the soldiery entered in the insurrection against Vitellius, cannot, unfortunately, be longer explored, owing to the falling in of the upper portion, but may still be inspected by the light of a torch, which the *custode* lets down into a dark abyss, that strikes the imagination with a sense of awe and mystery; while the massive construction of the stairs, with that of the horizontal vaulting above, is to be noticed as one of the remarkable structures preserved from the Republican period. Of this Tabularium, above the massive vaultings of which, still in great part preserved, Michael Angelo raised the modern Capitoline Palace, a restoration designed presents two stories of pilasters, dividing arcades on its front; the lower Doric (as attested by existing fragments of capitals without

shafts); the upper Ionic, as inferred by analogy. It was not ascertained till about twenty years ago that this structure was so ancient as the time of Sylla; and Bunsen was the first to enter its disencumbered remains for learned inspection. The temples of Vespasian and of Concord stand immediately below the Tabularium; and between these sanctuaries passed the Clivus Capitolinus, joining the Triumphal Way, the pavement of which former was uncovered by the Duchess of Devonshire.

Descending from the Capitoline buildings is now to be noticed what might be called a « modern antique, » in architecture on the Forum, intended to restore, but in reality nothing else than a deforming eyesore, unqualified disapproval of which has been by many expressed, — the portico dedicated to the twelve « Dii Consentes, » and the « Schola Xantha, » or offices of public notaries, rebuilt partly from fragments of the original, partly with new material, so as now to present a colonnade of nine pillars with Corinthian capitals, three shafts (which are fluted), five capitals, and considerable portions of an architrave with its inscription, being antique, — the rest modern, with unfluted shafts, not of marble, but travertine. Behind these columns are the cells or chapels for the deities, likewise repaired, but left quite plain, formed against the steeply shelving bank near the substructures of the Capitol; and below the platform on which the whole portico rests is the series of small square chambers — also restored, though in fact little reparation was wanting to the original masonry — that served for the notaries' offices. Shut in between the massive walls of the Tabularium on one side, and the elevation of the road descending from the Capitol to the Forum on the other, the portico thus occupies the space of an obtuse angle, within which its colonnade, slanting towards a central point, describes another angle more obtuse. Such being the plan, a perfect

restoration was obviously impossible, since the road and platform sloping towards the Forum are quite modern, and a limitation is given to the edifice necessitated by the present, not ancient, laying out of the ground, in reference to adjacent buildings. However near the approach to its classic original in this portico, the diminutiveness of scale and obvious newness of the whole (notwithstanding the employment of antique fragments) present most infelicitous contrast with the stately proportions and mellowed antiquity of the objects near — the Temples of Saturn and Vespasian, the Arch of Severus, etc. The restoration must offend every eye accustomed to dwell with pleasure on the majesty of ruin. One is disposed to compare the whole thing to an architectural toy among grand realities, and may wonder what idea could have possessed the worthy professor of archæology, Visconti, in suggesting and directing this impertinent novelty on the most classic ground of antiquities in Europe.

Proceeding on our ramble through the Forum, its most interesting additional antiquity may be best examined from the platform above this portico — that Julian Basilica recently opened to modern research, by excavations finished a few years ago, displaying all the remains of this once splendid edifice. During the middle ages it had been used as a marble quarry; consequently, of all its columns and precious marble incrustations, nothing has been preserved, save a few shafts of travertine, a variety of fragmentary marbles from capitals and cornices, a few mutilated busts, and portions of reliefs. The pavement only, still covering the recently-exposed stylobate, may lead us to infer, from its richness of variegated marbles, the magnificence of the rest. The nave is about the dimensions of that of St. Peter's, not, of course, including the aisles of the latter in a comparison so difficult to the unassisted eye. Julius Cæsar founded, but Augustus finished and dedicated, this Basilica, which contained the law-

courts more frequented than any others of Rome. Its nave was surrounded by a gallery, where ladies might attend trials of peculiar interest; and here was employed in some legal capacity the younger Pliny, who has left us an account of a day's occupation within these walls. The ancient plan of Rome, chiselled on a marble surface, found under the Forum in the sixteenth century, and referred to the time of Caligula, is of great importance, even in its now imperfect state, because defining not only exterior, but interior arrangements of public buildings on the Forum and elsewhere. By means of this plan (presented to the Capitoline Museum by Benedict XIV.) has been identified the Temple of Saturn, mentioned in the will of Augustus, of which eight columns, restored in inferior style, still remain upright, and of which we find mention, with copies from its now perished inscriptions, in the memoir extant by a Swiss pilgrim of the eighth century. It was the seat of the quæstorship, or treasury administration; and here the triumphal procession stopped before ascending the Clivus, when the victor made report on oath of the spoils taken and the foes exterminated — afterwards to pronounce, with relentless formula, the sentence of death upon captives who were to undergo their fate in the neighbouring Mamertine Prisons. Some archoeologists have proposed the theory that the lower and narrower of these horrific dungeons, both subterranean, is actually more ancient than Rome herself, founded before Romulus settled on the Palatine! The primeval prison is by this theory, assumed to have been partly destroyed, and then reconstructed by Ancus Martius, who caused its cyclopean walls to be cut away, both vertically and horizontally, for enlarging the limits. (1) An ecclesiastical tradition ascribes to miracle the

(1) Such was the view of the late distinguished and estimable Dr Emil Braun.

gushing forth of the fountain (that all visitors are invited to notice and drink of) during the imprisonment here of St. Peter and St. Paul, to supply water for the baptism of the two gaolers they had converted; but against this objection may be drawn from history, weakening, if not overthrowing the claim of a story so little important. That a well existed here before the death of Jugurtha appears implied in the recorded words of that discrowned captive, who observed on entering the fearful cell where he was to die,—that it was indeed a cold bath the Romans were pleased to bestow on him. Christianity on the Forum has less apocryphal records and connected with conspicuous memories, Ierusalem, St. Sylvester, Constantine — the arch in honor of that Emperor, though not included, being naturally associated in this range of monuments.

The triumphs of Religion, in the history of the great Constantine, may be considered in the light of a Poem, as their several *fasti* are presented to us by art, at the Vatican, in St. Peter's, the Lateran and its Baptistry, and the triumphal arch near the Forum. The memory and deeds of the first Christian Emperor, as here perpetuated, may be regarded in the same sense as we receive the portraiture of a Charlemagne, Godfrey de Bouillon, Tancred, or Henry IV, in the Epics of (comparatively) modern poetry: the type may be faithful to History, but the details are often supplied, always colored, by creative immagination. And, after all, may not this view of the subject — the view adopted by Raffael and his scholars — be assented to as the most poetically splendid, and to moral sentiment true? In respect to those great characters who have influenced the destinies of nations, the idea which has become consecrated traditionally in the popular mind for ages, may be morally just, if historically erroneous: it is like the spiritualised image which affection and reverence form to themselves of the dead, oblivious of what

pertained to imperfection and glorifying what indeed was admirable. With the Heroes of History, this idea may be taken as resulting, not so much from external events of their lives as from the impression left by their acts and virtues on the feelings and interests of Mankind.

Though Eusebius is the only cotemporary historian by whom the account of the vision of the Cross has been handed down to us, allusion to it might be inferred from medals of Constantine, still extant, on which the standard of the *labarum* (the silken banner with the imperial image surmounted by the holy monogramme) appears over the words inscribed in luminous letters on the visionary Cross. The triumphal Arch, erected three years after the victory over Maxentius, proclaims, in its inscription, that Constantine, «*instinctu Divinitatis, mentis magnitudine,*» had saved and avenged the Commonwealth; and when visiting the ancient City, after having transferred the seat of Empire to his new Metropolis, that Emperor caused his statue to be erected on the Forum, bearing the Cross in one hand, with an epigraph referring his victory and the deliverance of Rome to the virtues of that faith, and Divine protection, represented in the symbol.

The visitor need scarcely be reminded that the beautiful reliefs on the upper part of this arch, belong to that of Trajan, despoiled by a barbaric practise then first beginning to be adopted, in the poverty of invention and utter decline of higher Art, betrayed in all the works originally executed for this monument. Sacrifices to Diana, Hercules, Apollo, and Mars, the chace, and other scenes from the life of Trajan are indeed contrasted, in these fine reliefs, with the mediocre sculptures properly belonging to the memorial of Constantine. Those on the arch of Titus, far superior to the latter, may class also with the records of Christianity on the Forum, as trophies recording the fall of that hierarchy

and worship superseded by the divinely consummate religion. Here it was that a deputation of Jews, representing their brethren settled in Rome, used to offer a copy of the Old Testament to the Pope in the procession for the installation at the Lateran, as the grand cavalcade passed under this arch on its way to the Basilica Cathedral. Legendary association alone connects the memory of St. Sylvester with the monuments of the Forum. Opposite those beautiful columns of the Temple of Castor and Pollux (or Graecostasis?) stands the insignificant modern facade of *S. Maria Liberatrice*, on the spot where, that legend tells, there opened portentously a profound abyss, out of which issued a terrific dragon, the terror of all Rome, which spread pestilence around and struck dead all approaching. The sainted Pontiff who received Constantine into the Church, advanced, in sacred vestments, and raised the Cross with solemn words, by virtue whereof the dead were restored to life almost under the dragon's claws, and that fierce monster became like a lamb, submitting to be bound by a chain and sent back to his den, at command of the Saint, never to return above ground. In this church a picture, ascribed to the Venetian school, represents the story, which is more interestingly and minutely illustrated in an earlier painting, by Pesellino, at the Doria palace, and at S. Croce in Florence, by Giottino. To *S. Maria Liberatrice* attach other tragic memories, and from real not legendary annals. Till the XVI century its convent was occuped by Benedictine Nuns; their property and sanctuary were pillaged and profaned by the fierce hordes of Bourbon, who swept over the Forum like Goth and Vandal of old; subsequently to which, abandoned by that ill-used Community, it was given by the Magistracy to the Oblate Sisterhood, founded by St. Francesca, who are still in possession here.

It was not not till the VI century that the first Christian church, that of SS. Cosmus and Damian, rose on the

Forum, erected above, and partly perhaps preserving within its walls a temple of the Penates. One hundred years later, rose that of St. Adrian, occasioning or soon following the destruction of the Emilian Basilica; and a few years later, that of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, a small church, between the arch of Severus and Temple of Concord, of which not a trace remains. In the VIII century, S. Martina was built over the ruins of the « Secretarium Senatus, » or those of the Arch of Marcus Aurelius, unless indeed, (as probable) both those ruins were comprised within its limits. In that century the mysterious name *Tria Fata*, first applied to the western side only, became popularly used for the whole Forum, probably suggested by a representation of the three Sybils, of primeval antiquity (supposed indeed of the regal period) which even to the elder Pliny was inexplicable. The conflagration of Guiscard swept over this entire region, and subsequently, in the XII century, rose a night of ignorance over Rome (1). In the XIV the building of a fortress on the Capitol caused the sacrifice of the little still remaining from its ancient edifices, with the temples on the Clivus; and it was about the end of this or beginning of the next century, that the level of the Forum completely disappeared, under accumulations 20 or 30 feet high; vegetation soon sprung up on this artificial soil, cattle were turned loose to pasture here, an avenue of trees was planted (cut down during the siege in'49, but now again spreading its foliage on the same spot) and the Roman Forum, from that later medieval period, ceased to be an inhabited region (V. Bunsen, « Beschreibung. »)

(1) For which see the *Mirabilia*, that legendary guide which speaks of the Capitol as a vast palace surrounded by walls covered with mosaic and gold etc.

AUTUMN IN ROME

On many accounts Autumn is the most enjoyable season for residence in Rome. In September the intense heats usually break up, yielding to heavy rains and gloomy skies, that may last for a few days; then comes, in October, the very *beau idéal* of Italian climate — warm and brilliant, without sultriness or fever-bringing miasma; magnificent effects of nature, that glorify and bring into magic distinctness every feature of distant landescape; the season especially for life in the open air, for long walks, through the unfrequented regions, so extensive even within the walls of this city, where, amid vineyards and gardens and long avenues of trees, rise venerable old churches, whose primitive architecture has been little touched by the profane hand of modern restoration, or forlornly picturesque farms and cottages, that look like places struck by a blight, or deserted through fear of spectres. The popular *fêtes*, that used to delight artistic observers here during this month, have been, indeed, shorn of their attractions since, through wanton Vandalism, their principal and most pleasant centre, the outer demesne of the

Borghese villa, was devastated in the last revolution. Consequently, the entertainments given twice every week in October by the Prince, at his own expense, and with gratuitous admission to the public, have entirely ceased; and the desolated estate, though again planted and now almost as pleasantly umbrageous as before, is no longer the scene of amusements. In an artificial hollow, amidst wooded lawns, formed to imitate the plan of the antique circus, used there to be exhibited a variety of the spectacles most popular in Rome — horseraces, fireworks, ascent of balloons, and sometimes chariot-races, with *bigae* and charioteers, all in imitation of the classically antique, whilst military bands enlivened thousands of spectators from every class, at liberty to enjoy themselves till a late hour, dispersing over the groves and lawns of that beautiful estate, without ever (to my knowledge) abusing the privilege by boisterous or improper behaviour. Of other October fêtes only a faint shadow now remains, in the shape of pic-nic parties, mostly among the Trasteverines, who leave the town in open carriages filled with bevies of women, the prettiest (by long-established usage) being entitled to the place beside the driver, the only male admitted in the party till the place of rendezvous is reached, usually some *osteria* a few miles from the walls, where, after dining as well as possible in the open air, dancing (especially the national *salterello*), and music occupy the hours till sunset, when they return, some damsel of each company beating the basque tambourine, and the rest singing out merrily whilst driven through the streets at full gallop. (1) Another meeting of

(1) Curiously is the name of the first Christian Emperor associated with these gaietes in the popular rhymes still retained, and responded to in a kind of chant by the damsels:

Alla riviera — le lavannaje portano la bandiera;
La Bandiera d' onore — di Costantino magno, l' Imperatore.

both sexes at the osteria, for supper, wine, and sometimes the music of the lute, called *calascione*, in which many Trasteverines excel, sometimes also improvisation of verses (a talent far from extinct, though commoner in more southern parts than Rome), closes the festivities of the day; for which frequently these good folks put themselves to most incovenient expenses — pawning clothes, furniture, or denying necessary conforts to their families rather than forego the pleasures of a day. But the poverty consequent on various causes (and it is to be feared, still increasing) since '49, the dearness of provisions, and, above all, the failure of vintages have combined to deaden the mirth, diminish the frequency, and almost annihilate the bravery of outward show, in these amusements. Rarely do we now see the charms of dark-haired damsels set off by splendours such as displayed a few years ago, the silks and velvets, the broad-brimmed beaver hat and feathers, the ponderous chains of coral or gold, the large pendants in the ears and countless finger-rings; and less frequently now do the dandies of Trastevere appear in velveteen finery, bright waistcoats, silk sashes, and plumed sugar-loaf hats, the classic style of these occasions in former years. Even the fashions and usages prior to late vicissitudes were degenerate compared with those of some twenty or thirty years anterior; and, for the true old Romanesque costume, we must now consult the admirable groups of Pinelli, or be contented with its professional imatation by the « models » who haunt the stairs between the Piazza di Spagna and Pincian Hill. An elderly gentleman has told me that, when he now walked through Trastevere, he could not recognise the region of former times, so marked in its distinctions, dialect, costume, and physiognomy; that all, even the types of countenance, the dashing defiant air of the men and massive beauty of the women, seemed changed. But (added my venerable informant) if they have lost in the pictorial and

distinctive, they have gained in the *morale;* for the sanguinary use of the clasp-knife, once so common as scarsely to provoke notice from authorities, whenever blood was excited by passion or wine, has now become *comparatively* rare — though far, indeed, from being abolished, or less fatally applied when provoking occasion comes.

For these October fetes too, as for the Carnival, may be found classic analogies. Transferred to another season, we read of something very like them, at the festival of Anna Perenna (Dido's fugitive sister), held the 15th March, in a forest between the Anio and the Tiber, where, after the sacrifices, the devotees feasted in the open air, and used to augur to each other as many years of life as they could drink goblets — *bibebant ad numerum* — to secure the verification of which happy auguries to the utmost extent, some wassailers, we are told by Ovid, would drink « the years of Nestor, namely 300, and strong-headed females would equal in their cups those of the Cumean Sybil — about 1000! The Poet describes their pic-nic feasting and the jubilant return at night in a manner by no means inapplicable to these revels of their modern descendants:

Plebs venit, ac virides passim disjecta per herbas
Potat, et accumbit cum pare quisque suâ.
Sub Jove pars durat: pauci tentoria ponunt —
.
Sole tamen, vinoque calent; annosque precantur,
Quot summant cyathos, ad numerumque bibunt.
.
Cum redeunt, titubat; et sunt spectacula vulgo;
Et fortunatos obvia turba vocant.

Fasti, III, V.

Something similar also is described in the sixth of the Fasti, cap. VIII, at the rural fête on the banks of the Tiber, in honor of Fortuna Fortis, (24 and 25th June) when the

worshippers went in boats adorned with flowers to the rendez-vous, drinking as they floated along the waters.

The festival of St. Michael draws crowds to the great hospital and polytechnic school dedicated to that Archangel, in Trastevere; and since the present Pope has adopted the practise, on this morning, of celebrating low Mass in the handsome church attached to this edifice, and giving benediction from a balcony to the people and troops assembled on the long quay underneath, where these vast buildings overlook the Tiber, opposite the Aventine Mount, S. *Michele* has become one of the favorite, and most picturesquely distinguished fêtes in Rome. The exhibition of industrial and artistic works executed by the students, is now thrown open and public for eight days, consisting of drawings, casts, sometimes sculptures, in marble; arras, woven and other manufactured articles. Its art department has been creditable in years past; the chalk drawings from sculpture, from the frescoes of Raphael or other great masters, and the architectonic ornament department, both in drawings and models, well worth inspection. Its extensive factories on the ground-floor open for display of carpeting and woollen manufactures, exhibited in the same rooms with the machinery, mostly English, by means of which these articles are prepared at S. Michele, whence the Pontific troops are exclusively supplied with clothing. There is also a press in this establishment for printing works used in preparatory schools, to which a late concession from the Pope extended privilege for the exclusive issue of an educational series selected from Italian and Latin classics, devotional writers, lives of saints etc.

The lovers of the drama saw with satisfaction, a few years ago, an announcement in the Roman gazette, signed by the Vice-Senator, signifying that Government had determined to assign prizes to dramatic compositions, commendable as well from the moral as literary point of wiew.

Competitors, it was announced, might preserve the incognito or not at pleasure; and their productions would be transmitted to appointed umpires, after being examined by the Deputation of Public Spectacles. Such a proceeding affords proof that the Church does not, as might be supposed from the position of the theatre under ecclesiastical rule, absolutely ignore the existence, or deny the usefulness of the Stage. The house appropriated to national drama in Rome is not fashionably, but, generally, well attended — overflowing on the evenings of those festivals when theatres are left open; and I cannot but give my testimony, founded on long experience, that the practice of allowing such entertainments on Sundays decidedly favors public morality in Italian cities. In the metropolis of the Pope theatres are open, invariably crowded, on the Sunday rather than any other evening, and neither intoxication, nor other disorders, disturb the streets during those hours of recreation. The Italian Drama, after being long in a state of decline, is now unquestionably rising to renewed vigour and worthier life. Alfieri's, and Metastasio's tragedies are performed at wide intervals; but the formalised and coldly rigorous school of which Alfieri was Coryphaeus in Italy, whose delineations of passion seem cut in marble, instead of being produced with the colours of life-painting, no longer satisfies the requirement of the age; hence, as, for an interval, no other school of recognized merit, or sustained power, had risen in its place for Italy, a transitionary state ensued, for the most part characterless, and if not degenerating into immorality, at the best merely negative: to this has now succeeded a movement represented by writers of higher ability and juster views, who study humanity, not in schools of self-styled classic authorship, but in the realities of life; who seek the ideal, not in abstracts of conventionalism, but in nature, in passion and feeling. At Rome the Opera does not receive that pecuniary

support from Government assigned in other Italian countries, but still throws the classic Drama into the shade; the very phraseology current here implying as much, the opera being spoken of as *il teatro*, the legitimate drama, *la prosa* — notwithstanding that the majority of Italian tragedies are in verse, and many comedies in rhyme. Much talent exists on the Italian stage, with a total freedom, even on the part of *débutantes*, from that bashfulness and stiffness which the English histrionic overcomes only by dint of practice; but in Rome, the social position of actors is inferior, and their receipts miserable compared with those favourites of the scene in northern countries. A female in this profession, of however irreproachable conduct, can scarcely obtain access to the society conventionally styled « the best; » and the most admired actress now on the Italian stage, who has long been the wife of a Roman marquis, and is in private life most estimable, remaining still before the public, as she has chosen to do, and within late years become the very Queen of tragedy, crowned by European suffrages, supplies an instance, as far as I am informed, of this exclusiveness.

— Habet comedia tanto
Plus oneris, quanto veniae minus.

The theatre of Marionettes, where those able bodied puppets are made to display themselves to an accompaniment of witty dialogue, is an attraction, among public amusements here, peculiarly Italian; but another more especially *Roman* is the unroofed circus into which has been degraded the Mausoleum of Augustus (!) once appropriated to bull-baiting, and now the Astley's of Rome, for equestrian spectacles, or performances on a moveable stage, usually crowded, in the Sommer months, by a public enjoying itself *sub dio* with animated demonstrations. Though a Roman audience is not remarkable for moral refinement, more easily excited by the broadly humorous or exaggerated than by the finer tou-

ches of pathos and feeling, a certain moral *sense* the Romans do possess, which frequently guides them right in the rejection of what has only morbid sentimentality or ranting extravagance to recommend it. One praise must also be given to the theatre here, and the superintendence of Catholic authority may be thanked for this — that it never becomes the haunt of vice, is never a scene of riot, or anything to scandalize, on the part of the audience at least.

The existence of an embryo Theatre, in Rome, may be traced to at least as high as the middle of the XV century, when it seems that plays used to be acted on temporary stages in public places, or in private residences. At a period little later the learned Sulpizio complimented the Cardinal Riario, in a dedicatory epistle, for his liberality in promoting taste and accomplishments among the Roman youth, by the erection of a provisional theatre, in a public place, described by the same writer as a platform (*pulpitum*) raised to the height of five feet, where (he adds) the same plays were performed as had already entertained the Pope and his courtiers, with painted scenery, in the Castle of S. Angelo, (v. Agiuconrt.) From the Cardinal's liberality, all Rome (*tota urbs*) was expecting, says this writer, the establishment of another and worthier Thespian temple. Tiraboschi mentions the theatrical entertaimeent given in the same Cardinal Riario's palace, in 1492. At Vellctri, where the ancient Romans had built an Amphitheatre and circus, was begun, in 1499, the restoration of a modern theatre already in ruin, called that « of the Passion, » because appropriated by a pious Confraternity to those Mystery Plays still popular in Italy and other conntries. This edifice remained in use, for theatrical purposes, till 1765, and is engraved in Agincourt's work. The Mystery of the Passion continued to be acted in the Colosseum, by the Gonfalone Company, every Holy Week, till the pontificate of Paul III. The liberal and learned Benedict XIV,

who accepted the dedication of Voltaire's « Mahomet, » addressed a letter to Maffei, published in his valuable work, *Dei Teatri antichi e moderni*, expressing the desire to see a reform of the stage, and the conviction of such being possible to an extent securing beneficial results. Pope Benedict even visited the new theatre in Maffei's native city, Verona, before its opening for public performance; all possible secrecy was observed by the holy Father, but not sufficient to elude the inquisitive glance of Italian Satire — or the genius of Pasquino — and the next morning appeared over the door by which that venerable visitor had entered: « *Porta Santa*: *plenary Indulgence to all passing through it.* » The greatest splendour yet attained by the theatre in Rome was during the sojourn, and under the auspices of Christina of Sweden, at which time, it seems, the Cardinals belonging to the *entourage* of her eccentric ex-majesty, used to be frequent play-goers at those royal theatricals (v. Doran, « Monarchs retired from Business. ») Neither at that epoch nor at the present have the notions respecting the stage held by certain rigid sectaries, received slightest sanction from the Church, and though in the Roman States the Clergy are forbidden to attend public theatres, their presence at private performances, such as are always given at various Colleges in Rome during Carnival, and throughout the Winter at the pretty little *dilettanti* theatre in the Cesarini Palace, is in no way frowned upon, even for those wearing the Church's violet or purple. An Italian congregation would be indeed astonished to hear from any pulpit the theatre denounced as a « Synagogue of Satan, » or by any such mild terms; and after all my experiences of sermons in this country, I can only remember to have once heard hostile animadversion to the Stage — nor that in a Roman pulpit. Till the present century it seems that (as in Shakespere's time in England) no females could appear on the stage in Rome, their characters being given

to boys, or men with soprano voices; and still has the theatre in the Papal States to struggle with great disadvantages, thanks to a censorship that tends to emasculate, or suffocate every branch of literature, except where theology or archoeology be the safeguard-topics. Amateur theatricals are sustained with more than the average merits of such throughout the Winter and Carnival in Rome, usually every Sunday evening, by the much applauded company of the Cesarini stage, who are so liberal of invitations as to cause rather inconvenient crowding in their well-managed house. At the Oratorio of the Filippine Fathers, and sometimes in the College-hospital of S. Michele, is supported also, during Carnival, a lyric stage, for student amateurs or other not theatrical vocalists, with musical dramatization of subjects from the Old Testament — a sort of modernized Mystery Drama. The long recesses of Lent and Advent are the sole unpopular severity enforced, in this sphere of entertainment, by sacerdotal rule; once only, that I have known or heard, was the similar observance of the Friday by closed theatres set aside through the good nature of Pius IX, allowing a tragedy on a biblical subject, *Razia* (from an episode in the Book of Kings) by Massi, Professor of Eloquence at the University, to be acted at the Metastasio theatre, one Friday in February '59; that concession proved highly popular; an overflowing house and rapturous applause rewarded the actors, the composition, and the author, who was frequently called for, and deserved his triumph, by many fine poetic passages and effective situations. To review the modern Italian Drama would be beyond my limits; but among those who may be considered worthy representatives of the new school, so much more conformed to truth, and Nature than ever was that of Alfieri or Metastasio, may be named with distinction Gherardo del Testa, Giacometti, Leon Fortis, Ferrari, Dell' Ongaro, Chiossone, whilst Della Valle and Niccolini, though as to

form belonging rather to the ancient, must also be placed high in the modern tragic drama, of which the latter indeed is Italy's present Coryphaeus and Nestor; and, quite recently, Gattinelli (himself a popular actor) and Montanelli, have contributed ably, the former to the social comedy, the latter to the high wrought tragedy walk. It is not unusual to see good acting on the Italian stage even by artists whose names have never been heard beyond the Alps. Madame Internari (the instructress of Ristori) was great, in her heroic and also high comedy parts, even when quite an old woman — as within my recollections of her. Gustavo Modena (still living, though seldom appearing in his advanced age) struck me as magnificent, about ten years ago, in the *Saul* of Alfieri and *Orosmane* of Voltaire, though rather disappointing in what was his favorite performance with many, the declamation from Dante. Carolina Santoni, some years since, divided public favor at Rome and elsewhere, with Adelaide Ristori, and is still, in the characters peculiarly her own, a noble and affecting actress, though the latter certainly, since the greatest rivalship has been removed with the sublimely classic Rachel, stands unapproached, presenting that which is highest in tragic pathos, the horrors with the sorrows of the scene being alike her own. In her acting meet what may be called the true elements of the tragic, morally contrasted, — all the frailties of Passion with all the strength and resources of Intellect (1). And Tommaso Salvini deserves to stand by her side, as all must own after seeing him in *Hamlet* and *Othello* (rendered by Carcano from the originals), in the *Romeo* of Della Valle's tragedy, and *Orosmano* in the translated « Zaire » — this great actor display-

(1) Such, if I remember right, are nearly the terms used by Hazlitt in defining the peculiar powers of Mrs Siddons.

ing indeed, in all his successful parts, a fine intelligence and feeling, perfect mastery of the pantomimie, and carefully studied appreciation of what is essential, the subtle and the strong in character. I have heard him, in conversation, regret the obvious disadvantage to the actor occasioned by that capricious demand for novelty in most Italian publies, continually requiring different pieces, so that managers will scarcely repeat the same play more than two, or, at the utmost warranted by success, three successive nights. Spectacle on the Roman stage, except at the Opera, is wretched — unworthy of a city priding itself on artistic distinctions.

An industrial exhibition is now annual at the Capitol, in September, by new arrangement, and generally giving not unfavorable idea of produce and progress in these States; though the majority of its contents are not Roman — Perugia, Bologna, Spoleto, Camerino, and other towns near the Adriatic, contributing the finer samples of cloths and silks in greater proportion than the metropolis. This display gives occasion for a premiation, judiciously ordered on the system long pursued by this government, in regard both to agricultural and manufacturing interests; for, whatever its deserts in other respects, the Roman Administration certainly cannot be taxed with neglect in those departments.

October being here the general holiday-month, tribunals, the university and colleges, are closed; theological students migrate to villas near Frascati or Tivoli, and the Court usually allows itself a *villeggiatura*, though, in this respect, Pius IX. has been less rural than his predecessors, I believe from a sense of duty to his people, irrespectively of his own recreations and courtiers. At the little towns on the Alban hills are now advertised such amusments as are required for attracting the Romans into the country, where, in fact, retirement, the charms and influences of nature, are

the very last things habitually sought by them. (1) Races and fire-works, and the indispensable lottery draw crowds to Frascati and Albano, particularly to the former pretty little town, which the railway has done much for civilizing, so that not only a beautiful, but thriving, and cultivated place now holds out its advantages for villeggiatura on the Alban Hills.

From about the middle of November the Englishman, at least, is likely to find a blazing fire as indispensable for evenings in Rome as in London, and that dismal substitute, the *scaldino* — still the only comforter in many Italian houses, aye, palaces — truly contemptible. Open fire-places, a comparatively recent introduction from abroad in this city; have now asserted their rights in all lodging-houses intended for strangers, and even in the Vatican Palace; but in convents and colleges, with few exceptions, fire is never seen out of the kitchen; and I can recollect a Christmas evening party where, though other luxuries were not wanting, music and mirth were to be enjoyed by no other light or warmth than such as lamps diffused. Not that Winter often visits us here with beard of icicles and diadem of snow; but « in thunder, lightning, and in rain » he frequently announces himself, at all times a capricious potentate. When snow falls in a temperature allowing it to remain many hours on the ground, the disaster is thought so serious that the Papal Government benevolently provides a distribution of bread for the labourers on the Campagna, whose toils are interrupted by this unwonted occupant of their territory. Yet the temper must be splenetic indeed that can grumble against a Winter which allows sometimes successive weeks of sunshine, scarce broken by a cloud from morn to night, with re-

(1) A deficiency in their taste owned by Pindemonte, himself an illustrious example of the contrary, in his pleasing contemplative Essays, « le Prose. »

splendent risings, and still more glorious settings of the day-god amidst a retinue, not of flaming clouds, but blended tints more various and luminous than the rainbow's. One need only quit this town, whose streets are mostly narrow, ill paved, and under perpetual shadow, for quiet walks near its deserted fortifications, or on the Campagna, to find another clime, all brightly beautiful, with a temperature more like that of southern Autumn than anything associated with northern ideas of the wintry.

November opens with celebrations, some of which are peculiar, not only to Italy, but to the Papal Metropolis. At the Pantheon, the special church for the observances of All Saints' Day, those rites are impressive and singular, for it is rarely that any grand services, with orchestral music, take place within those walls, and the effect under that vast dome, lighted from the sky through its uncovered orifice, is at the same time festal and solemn. Otherwise the Pantheon, as a temple of Catholic worship, is thinly attended, and often rendered unfit for use by the waters, either from below or above, when the Tiber overflows or rain descends through the open cupola, to deluge its pavement. During the week that follows the above named festival are those strange charnel-house exhibitions, which draw crowds every day, and peculiarly fascinate Italian imagination, as do also the wax-work displays of groups illustrating sacred subjects, miracles or martyrdom, designed with a certain degree of talent, and, seen as they are by artificial light, not without effect — though, for the most part, regarding these shows arranged in cemeteries or chapels, for the Octave of All Souls, one might quote Mr. Dickens's remark on something similar that met his eye in Italy, « Madame Tussaud would have nothing to say to them under any terms. » Vivid recollections are touched to life in Anderson's « Improvisatore » dwelling on that scene in the cells beneath the Capuchin convent, where

the incrustation of walls and vaults, pendant lamps and other ornaments, are entirely formed of skulls and bones, the ghastly surface divided at intervals by niches, where stand erect several olden inhabitants of the cloisters above, each with a cross in the bony hand, frocked and cowled as in life. This display is surpassed, in the elaboration of charnel-house ornaments, by another similar, now open, in the subterranean chapel of the church S. *Maria del Suffragio*, communicating with a hall almost on the level of the Tiber, where one of the above-mentioned groups, usually the best, is annually prepared at the expense of a pious confraternity, dedicated to the duty of giving interment to the bodies of those who have died by accident, or in solitary places, on the Campagna. Is not the power of Symbolism, when brought to bear upon the religious nature, manifest in the impression obviously received by the minds of multitudes, though for the most part of the humbler classes, from these spectacles against which so much may be objected, as theatrical and utterly below the dignity of sacred subjects, though their *possible* utility, addressed to a popular character like the Roman (in humbler spheres of life) cannot lightly be contested? One must observe, however, with regret, that such agency tends to increase what there are but too many signs of in Italy at this day, an alienation in the more cultivated, as in the less devout minds, from the influences of the Church. The close of November is distinguished by solemnities far exceeding in magnificence those of its opening, as the last Sunday being the first of Advent, on that day moves one of the most stately processions at the Vatican, swelled by all the dignitaries and courtiers of Rome around her Sovereign, for carrying the Holy Sacrament from the Sixtine to the Pauline Chapel, to open the exposition of forty hours in the latter sanctuary. Nothing of the description is finer than the illumination of the Pauline, particularly since the decorative

apparatus for this occasion was restored, according to the original design by Bernini, at great cost, a few years since.

Another splendid celebration in Rome this month, is that in St. Cecilia's honour, at the antique church in Trastevère (modernized in style the worst possible), on the site of her residence and martyrdom. The florid and brilliant school of sacred music now dominant in this country may be heard at its best on this occasion; and the academy called after St. Cecilia, considered the great assemblage and arbiter of musical talent and successes in Rome, usually gives about the same time a grand concert sustained by its own amateur performers.

A leading influence in the world of literature here is formed by the «Accademie», so numerous throughout Italy— often as fantastic in their designation as modes of procedure. Most of these commence their annual Campaign in November, and we have in Rome, besides two archæologic associations, the *Arcadians*, the *Quirites*, the *Tiberina* Academy, the *Lynceans* (an association dedicated to scientific objects, and meeting in the Capitoline Palace, which was once honoured by the membership of Galileo, was dispersed after the death of its founder, Cesi, in 1630, revived by the late Professor Scarpellini, and pensioned by the Government of Napoleon, but, after that distinguished professor had ceased to live, became again almost extinct, till the patronage of Pius IX. restored it to vivified activity in 1846); lastly, that which is of all most attended with *éclat*, the « Academy of the Catholic Religion, » under the auspices of the Pope, with a Cardinal president, and a council of honorary *censori*, composed of twenty-nine ecclesiastic princes, the English Cardinal being among these. The present is the fifty-eighth, or ninth, year since the foundation of this academy, whose assemblages are held in a hall of the University twice or thrice a month during Summer, the leading subject for compositions being prescribed, and the names of members to present essays printed in a pro-

gramme at the beginning of each season. By way of example, I may refer to the inaugural reunion I attended last, for which the Academy had chosen as general theme the refutation of socialism and communism. The Cardinal Cagiano de Azavedo read the opening address, of more than an hour's duration, evidently the composition of a man of learning, and dedicated to a general summary of the principles avowed by socialism, their evil results, and the arguments by which they might be opposed. A large audience attended, with a prevalence of the ecclesiastical — cardinals, prelates, and monastic religious, — no females being admitted; and the taste for splendour, on all accasions apparent in Rome, was curiously (the objects in view considered) in this instance made prominent: though yet broad daylight, the large hall of the Sapienza was brilliantly illuminated, as if for some sacred solemnity; one extremity was hung with scarlet draperies, disposed in festoons round a portrait of Pius IX, below which, occupying a semicircular recess, an orchestra of military music from time to time enlivened the company, first with a grand fanfaronnade at the beginning, then after the reading of the Cardinal's composition, and at the end. The other academies meet either weekly or monthly throughout the year; and the most solemn assemblage of the Arcadians is on the evening of Good Friday, to celebrate in numerous prose and verse compositions the awful subject of that anniversary. The prose contributions of the Arcadians, generally relating to archaeology or antiquities of literature, are published in a quarterly volume founded in 1819; those of the Academy of the Catholic Religion sometimes reported in the bi monthly *Giornale delle Scienze Religiose*, but with no regular organ; nor have the other academic compositions their channels for perediocal issuing, except the valuable *Bulletin* of the Archoeologic Institute, founded by German *savans* on the Capitol. As to the *personnel*, ecclesiastics predominate, but

with no exclusion of laics, in most of these societies; ladies are admitted to membership in the Arcadian and Tiberine, and of their sex I may mention, as distinguished from the ordinary class of aspirants to this sort of coterie celebrity, the Countess Orfei, whose poetical contributions, published in different volumes, many on sacred themes, display taste and feeling, with more than ordinary graces of expression; also Teresa Gnoli, a young Poetess of well deserved successes; and Rosa Taddei, distinguished in her earlier career as a gifted Improvvisatrice, but now confining herself to prepared composition. On one occasion only is there the additional inspiration of good cheer at an Academic Reunion, a sumptuous collation (in newspaper phrase) being given *al fresco* for the crowning celebration of the « Pontific Archoeologic Acadamy » on the anniversary of the founding of Rome (21st April), sometimes in the Farnese Gardens on the Palatine, sometimes at the Doria Pamfili, or another suburban villa. This, the aristocratic assemblage *par excellence*, and of course enlivened by the best efforts of the invited, in prose and verse, is graced by the presence of high church dignitaries in conspicuous number, but though the guests and themes are reported in the official paper, the public is not benefited by any printing of their lucubrations. Contributions of females at the *Accademie* are invariably poetic; and the fair Tiberin or Arcadian stands on the platform amidst male competitors, to recite her *canzoni* or *terzine*, with that perfect freedom from *mauvaise honte* for which all Italians — men women, children, — may be congratulated. Admission to these assemblies is, according to rule, by printed tickets at the disposal of members, but the restriction is lightly enforced, and (except of course at the learned anniversary banquet) little more than evening dress requisite to ensure against repulse. As to influences, I cannot do homage to these literary hot-beds — tending, in my conviction, (except per-

haps for archoeologic objects) to narrow, not expand, the growth of local literature; all *Accademici* being too polite to condemn each other, applause is a thing of order, thus preparing illusions for mediocrity, and coterie successes that may at last satisfy those capable of higher achievement. The Italians themselves, first to originate, have also most keenly felt the absurdities of pretention and proceeding in these societies, which I have seen held up to ridicule on the Italian stage by unsparing satire, cleverly dramatized and acted. Goethe has left a minute account of his reception as honorary member by the Arcadians, some eighty years ago. As to the German Institute, which meets weekly during Winter in a house on the Tarpeian rock, these remarks do not apply to a society so eminently useful for archoeologic pursuits and researches as that has proved itself; and its late lamented secretary, Dr Emil Braun, must be remembered, not only for virtues in private life, but as one of the most intelligent and earnest in the walk his talents were dedicated to. His worthy successors in the support of the Institute are the accomplished Professors Henzen and Brunn; a library is attached to the hall of their assemblage on the Tarpeian, where the story of archoeologic research in Rome and its states, since the origin of the institute in the time of Winckelmann, may be followed out in all its authentic records, with the use of illustrated and other valuable publications. The « Birthday of Winckelmann » is still the chief anniversary celebrated here, and one I have often found interesting. Though mostly German, the Italian language is exclusively used by the members who read reports. Another Accademia quite unique, but only recurring on two successive days of the year, at the Epiphany, is that « feast of languages » at the Propaganda, of which Mezzofanti was the directing mind, and sole capable revisor for composition, usually amounting to about 40, in as many different languages or dialects. Anot-

her Mezzofanti connot be expected in the same century; but the same average is still kept up by the polyglot Academy, and the performance now rendered more intelligible by the translations of the argument at least, if not the words of each recitation, into Italian, for distribuuting among the ever crowded audience. English is always represented by poetic composition; many of the Oriental languages by *chants*, in their native strains of mournful monotony.

The Sapienza University opens on the 6th November with much ceremonial, the Mass *De Spiritu Santo* attended by all professors, a Latin oration, and subsequently the taking of oaths of office (in the great hall, adorned with portraits of Popes, and supplied with an orchestra) in the hands of the Cardinal Chancellor. The number of students has fallen much since the late troubles, but still averages about 800, whose expenses for each of the four years included in a full course are only about sixteen scudi (little more than 3*l.*), including fees for matricuation and for receiving the laurel of Doctorate. For historic origin this university is referred to Pope Honorius III. (1216-27) though Tiraboschi supposes Justinian to have been the first founder of a University in Rome, after Theodosius had bestowed that advantage on Constantinople. The existing edifice (which has little beauty, the church a frightful addition by Borromini) was raised by Alexander VI.; and the constitution still regulating its administration was published by Leo X, for whose «anniversary» is still celebrated a funeral Mass, with a Latin panegyric, in this church. A gallery lined with cases of instruments for physical experiments has been added to the older buildings, and the museum of natural history, mineralogy, geology, stuffed quadrupeds and birds, has lately been reorganised and enlarged, so as to be now one of the finest in Italy, with a collection of anatomic wax-works also valuable, though far surpassed by that of Florence. The mineralogic museum

continues to receive new specimens, and possesses a collection of marbles including every species found among the antiquities of Rome — in all, 600, presenting every variety of colour in beautiful combination; also, in separate cabinets, the geologic productions of the Seven Hills, in their varieties of volcanic formation. In the Hall of Chemistry is a bust of Sir Humphrey Davy, who performed experiments here on more than one occasion.

In 1856 this University had 821 students, 373 for the classes of Law, 205 for medicine, 167 for philosophy and mathematics; and, that year, the three Institutions in Rome entitled to confer degrees (the *laurel*) namely, the Sapienza, Propaganda, and Seminary, promoted to those honors, in all, 53 candidates. Villani in civil Law, Audisio in natural Law, Spezzi in Greek Literature, Visconti in Archaeology (the successor to Orioli) Sanguinetti in Geology and Mineralogy, Calandrelli in Astronomy, Volpicelli in Physics, Modena in theologic *loci*, are among distinguished professors of the present day here. Political Economy is not permitted to be taught in any University of the Papal States; and the Canon Audisio, in his *cursus* for the Sapienza students, reckons « Economisti » among the dangerous sects, like communists or materialists, to be ostracised under well-ordered social systems! The chairs of the Sapienza are open to competition without any regard for privileged classes, ecclesiastic or laic, and besides the theologic province, it is only the chancellorship that must necessarily be filled by a dignitary — a Cardinal — of the Church. Cardinal Altieri, on lately entering upon this office, introduced with energy many requisite reforms; negligence, want of punctuality etc. being soon corrected by his more active administration. The library of the Sapienza, which is public, is the best for general modern literature in Rome. Other public Libraries, also opening after a vacation in November, the Dominican, the Augustinian, and, on

certain days those of the Barberini and Corsini Palaces, would be much more useful to the studious if more liberally adapted to the system of publicity. As for the Vatican, that famous collection is little more, save to a few privileged, than a buried treasure, only professedly public during four hours on five days weekly, and in reality obstructed by the countless claims of festivals, doomed perpetually to « keep the word of promise to the ear, but break it to the heart » as would be tolerated by public opinion in no cultivated centre where such potency could assert itself. The Roman College and the Propaganda possess very valuable libraries, but not generally accessible; and that of the Franciscans at Ara Ceeli also ranks high, while more serviceable through the good offices of those friars, without regular publicity.

At the season when popular usages and manners ask attention, in Rome, it were searce possible to pass unnoticed one, unfortunately too prominent a feature in the life of this people, and which, if from certain forms disguising it, entitled to rauk among public amusements, when its action on society be considered may be deemed about as gay as a high-spiced poison or jewelled skull — that canker-worm, thet preys upon society in the humbler elasses especially, in southern Italy, unworthily fostered by inconsistent governments — the Lottery. Though not to the same degree a *furore* here as at Naples, and though the public extraction at Rome is only bimestral, not weekly, as at the former city, the effects are scarcely less ruinous in one than the other State, and the Papal subjects being able to play into the Neapolitan and Tuscan lotteries, there is not a single week in the year when their darling speculation need be suspended. On Saturday, twice in the month, it is that a large and excited multitude assembles on the piazza, in one of Rome's older quarters, before the stately palace called « Madama » from its foundress Catherine de'Medici, now appro-

priated to offices of government. At a balcony high on that front appears a group of authorities, with a chaplain and a theatrically dressed little boy standing before a kind of cylindrical vessel on a frame. When all is ready after this receptacle has been made rapidly to turn on a pivot, the little chief actor (whose innocence is used to impose upon the crowd in the equivocal transaction) draws slowly out from the vessel the winning numbers, each of which is loudly proclaimed to the people, who, if less vehemently demonstrative than the Neapolitans, express sufficiently how intense their interest in the event. And thus closes the scene in public, what follows, the distribution of Fortune's favours to the few, taking place privately. The spectacle has a degree of the picturesque but, when we bear in mind all it means and leads to, may strike with horror. Glancing over the crowd on that irregular old piazza, one perceives it is by no means exclusively composed of the humblest classes; and I have been sorry to notice priests among speculators, on these occasions, under ecclesiastical polity.

Neither in the Neapolitan nor Papal States can any sort of *fête* be held, at city, town, or village, without this accompaniment, though on such occasions it is a local speculation, independent of the regular public and periodical lottery. This system (condemned by the highest intelligence and patriotism in Italy, by writers such as Massimo d' Azeglio and others) a source of immorality and blight upon industry, flattering the worst propensities of the Italian populace — love of gambling, avidity for gain as a condition to pleasure, without the condition of labour towards securing it — was first admitted in Rome, after the original example had been given by Genoa, in 1660. Two Popes strictly prohibited it to the inhabitants of their metropolis and its district, before the close of that century; but in 1703 we find a public lottery-drawing, with circumstances of pomp and presence of

authority, on a piazza of this same city. Popes Clement XI. and Innocent XIII. gave it their full sanction in the early years of that century; but in 1725 Benedict XIII. prohibited it for ever (!) under severest penalties — heavy pecuniary mulcts, corporal punishment, and even the galleys (usually reserved for heinous cases of felony) — an edict that Pope afterwards enforced by menaces of excommunication, and to ecclesiastics absolute suspension. Yet, only seven years later, we find his successor, Clement XII, annulling that edict, to admit, on principle, the establishment of public lotteries in Rome and throughout these States-moved thereto by representations that no penalties availed to check the love of gambling among his subjects, and that inhibitions only led to the withdrawal of enormous sums for speculating in foreign lotteries, a great percentage, of course, to be absorbed by the companies or governments of other Italian states. Charity, indeed, has been brought in justification for a system radically evil; and thoughout these States the number of dowries, obligatory on the lottery administration, is not less than ninety, five of which, thirty scudi each, are conferred at every extraction in Rome.

At the best, the apology for the Lottery only amounts to this, that a little good is extracted out of a mass of evil, eating into the very heart of society, particularly among the classes laborious and poor, and stimulating the worst propensities, to say nothing of that consequent passion for games of chance, evinced in such sights as are often seen in towns of these States, the thronged card-table, at low cafés frequented by the low, after dark at night and before light in the morning! If the glittering « gin-palace » in London streets be a reproach, not less so is the nightly illuminated lottery-office in Rome, open later than all other establishments, and under no obligation of closing for any festival! Poor families, in this City, lay by their little earnings weekly, to

the privation of parents and children, for buying numbers to play; and when one observes the degrading superstition among results, astonishment is increased at the fact of the support by ecclesiastical government of a system so odious. Divining, dream-intrepretation, charms, are among the train of evils attendant, despite their being condemned dogmatically by the Church. *Il vero libro dei Sogni* is a vile publication, sold at almost every stall in Rome (without impediment from the rigorous censorship that has not spared Gioberti or Rosmini) a snare for ignorance, that professes to give its corresponding « lucky number » for every object that can be thought or dreamt of! — even the name « Papa » admitted, with its appropriate divination in three numbers; and *prete*, *cardinale*, *Cardinalato*, each with its number for gambling on — besides other terms grossly indecent! More deplorable is it that such superstition should be supported by any minister of religion; but the belief widely prevails, and is to a degree encouraged by those who should labor to uproot it, that certain of the mendicant friars have gifts of divination for the lottery! I was visited once by a friar, an entire stranger, who mysteriously intimated that, if I were a lottery — gambler, he could tell me something worth knowing — for which I thanked him. Setting out one morning for a walk, in Easter week, when a pleasantly festal appearance animates these streets, I observed an immense placard collecting knots of readers before the walls, and approached, expecting the advertisement of some volume suitable to the sacred season: it was a « New Method of winning at the Lottery, » a cheap edition with seducing promises in charlatan style! It is satisfactory to remember that the estimable Cardinal Morichini, when financial minister under Pius IX, recommended, in a ministerial report, the suppression of the Lottery — but his advice was in vain!

THE ALBAN HILLS

Quitting town for country to enjoy this season in the Roman environs, we may now, thanks to a slowly achieved railway, in half an hour reach those hills whose luxuriant and romantic scenery, around Frascati, Albano, Nemi, so deliciously contrasts with the mournful grandeur of the Campagna. Strange how little the beauty of these, or similar scenes, has inspired the genius of Italian Art in modern times! There are native artists at Rome of unquestionably high abilities — Podesti, Coghetti, Gagliardi, Balbi, (not to mention Camuccini and Agricola, recently deceased), but these, as the more distinguished generally, are figure-painters; and the present school of landscape in southern Italy is indeed low. Most rare is it to see, at Rome, any work of native growth that can class among those interpretations of the glorious Universe, enabling us to « look through Nature up to Nature's God. » Among foreigners resident here, there are indeed artists whose landscapes are the faithful rende-

ring of the very soul of Nature, that give back not only the scene, but its influences, to gladden, to solemnize or subdue; among whom I might mention, (as particularly familiar) the German Lehmann, two Americans, Messrs. Tilton and Brown, and, among the English, above all, for *genre* subjects, in which figures form the central interest to scenery, Mr. Penry Williams. Pastina, the Neapolitan, is fertile of brilliant effects, but too ofter spoilt by exaggerations. For the rest, German, Swiss, Belgian and Russian contributions usually outshine, in the landscape department, those from Italians in the annual exhibitions at Rome. The festivities connected with religion are, in rural regions, the very life and highest enjoyment of life to society in the provinces around Rome. At Albano the festival of the soldier-martyr, St. Pancrace, venerated as patron of this little city, is first among its *Fasti*, and the honours paid to him, as usual with such celebrations in this country, rouse the whole population into excitement, bring out all the place can display of pomp and gaiety, and attract crowds of visitors, not only from neighbouring villages, but from Rome, whence, with many fashionable pleasure seekers, arrive musicians, singers, and troops to swell the pageantry of the occasion. Albano is the episcopal See of the Cardinal Vicar, and has a large cathedral lately restored, with, among other improvements, a new campanile, of no beauty indeed, nor superior to the rest of the edifice, a specimen of the bald, unexpressive architecture common to modern churches in Italy. From this cathedral issued, at an early hour (on the day I first witnessed the San Pancrazio fêtes here) a procession whose length almost corresponded to that of the town itself, and, which, with something of the theatrical, had an *ensemble*, as it slowly marched through the quaint irregular streets, highly picturesque. There were little girls in tinsel finery, with butterfly-wings, intended to represent Angels, and chubby littie boys who toddled along in the disguise of Carme-

lite friars, curiously contrasting with the gravity of friars full grown, bearded capuchins, venerable canons, and full-armed soldiers. There was the Gonfaloniere with his two councilors; the local magistracy, in long robes of black silk and velvet lined with silver tissue, with flat black caps, looking not unlike some of Titian's portraits; and another conspicuous group, very different, formed by young giris in long white satin dresses, with veils covering not only the head but the lower part of the face, each attended by a buxom matron in the gayest local costume — a bright-coloured silk bodice, white linen veil folded square over the brow, and ample folds of muslin round the largely-developed bust, their full-blown charms further set off by a profusion of gold ornaments chiselled in a style resembling those in Etruscan museums — precisely such figures as Pinelli, and many other artists have delighted to introduce in *genre* pictures illustrative of Italian life and scenery. The younger females were those selected (according to beneficent traditions acted upon at all great festivals in these States) to receive small dowries out of a fund appropriated to charity, such donations being annually conferred at the religious seasons in Albano. Next to the female group came about a hundred members of a lay fraternity in their peculiar costume with hoods, carrying large crucifixes and banners painted on both sides with sacred figures life-size, and, finally, the principal group of clergy, the first in dignity supporting under a crimson canopy a bust of silver-gilt containing the skull of St. Pancrace. The music at high Mass, with the instrumentation of a full orchestra, had some fine passages, notwithstanding the prevailing operatic character, which detracts from solemnity in almost all modern church music of Italy.

Albano's streets were swarming with people throughout this day and long after nightfall; wares were on sale in the open air (as tolerated, even when, as in this instance, a great

festival coincides with Sunday) ; and on stalls lining the principal places might be seen, together with homely articles of dress and tinsel ornaments, coloured prints and images of saints, beads, crosses, and portraits of the Pope. The entertainments of the afternoon consisted, first, of horse races without riders, as in the Carnival ; and next, the *tombola*, or lottery, 200 scudi being the highest prize, extracted with due formalities and in presence of the authorities — a little child, fantastically dressed, drawing the numbers from a revolving cylinder, at a balcony overlooking the principal piazza.

Apart from the lottery, there is much the philanthropist must approve in the social results of Italian *fêtes*, which supply innocent enjoyment to break the monotony of workday life in many an obscure unfrequented place, give impulse to trade, and, generally speaking, whilst entered into by simple-minded multitudes with the exuberant vivacity of childhood, are undisturbed by tempers or habits either disgraceful or damaging. Rarely does crime occur in the midst of festivity, and almost as rare is the sight of intoxication in the streets, though, with the labouring classes, the habit of frequenting the wineshop at all hours, in every town and village, corresponds to the eternal lounging in *cafés* on the part of their superiors in wealth and station. Nor have disasters of seven years' failure in the vintage, more or less felt throughout Italy, materially altered the Bacchanalian habits of this population, spite of the vile counterfeits extensively sold in lieu of the pure juice, and the raising of prices for all wines, adulterated and genuine. The grape blight has now, happily, almost disappeared form the Roman States, but its effects are still perceptible, among which is the prominence of the beer-shop, become, indeed, in consequence, an establishment of more pretension than the antique and gloomy recesses, like vaults, in which usually pass the scenes of low-life merriment *inter scyphos*; but there is little chance

for any beverage in rivalship even with the most ordinary of Bacchus's gifts for Italian popularity.

A neglected soil indeed is the intellectual life of these country towns in the vicinity of Rome. The few that have become places of fashionable resort during the sultry season have, indeed, an external polish, and certain average of comforts, good hotels and eligible lodgings — advantages in which Albano stands first. But wretched is the condition of the remainder, where dirty dilapidated streets, miserable shops, and squalid half-savage inhabitants, wofully disappoint expectations that may be formed from the romantic beauty of their situations viewed at illusive distance. How, one may ask, can a Government be provided against political shocks or eventualities of peril, when in the immediate vicinity of its metropolis so many communities are suffered to stagnate in ignorance, misery, and semi-barbarism? There are towns of some thousand souls within sight from Rome, whose social aspects and style might allow the visitor to fancy himself in some village among the wildest glens of the Apennine; to take, as a specimen of the best, Albano, a place of more than 6000 souls, the episcopal see of a Cardinal who represents his Sovereign in the spiritual government of Rome — here is not one bookseller's shop, no sort of library for public use, no journal except sterile official papers, Papal and Tuscan, though a large cathedral chapter, seminary, and public schools, the residence of a *Gonfaloniere* and a governor, attest the importance — numerous hotels and rather gay *cafés*, announce the fashionable frequentation, of this town. The communal authorities, it is true, supply elementary instruction gratuitous here, as in other towns of similar calibre; and higher walks of learning, including Latin literature, may be acquired at the classes of the seminary, open to lay scholars as well as the theological students maintained on the foundation. Twelve convents, in Albano and its vici-

nity, dispense charities, usually in the form of soup and bread, to all applicants, either daily or on stated days. Yet the town itself is swarming with beggars, who usually appeal to compassion with promises of so many *Aves* in return! The native youth of this place, seeming for the most part artisans or laborers in tolerably good condition, spend their evenings generally, as the visitor may perceive, at the cafés playing cards.

Antiquarian treasures in this neighbourhood have long been left unexplored; and the singular terra cotta urns, in the form of huts, supposed to represent the dwellings of the aboriginal inhabitants, dug up about thirty years ago on the shores of the lake, now in the Vatican Museum, were the last antiquities supplied to Rome from Albano. The ruins of Bovillæ, indistinct and neglected, lie half-buried in thickets among the fields beside the road where it ascends towards Albano from the Campagna; and close to the principal gateway, the spectral cone-formed skeleton of a lofty mausoleum, now determined by archæologists as that of the great Pompey, stands in an inaccessible vegetable garden, its walls used to support a cowhouse, their ancient brickwork partly broken down for a modern entrance into the interior. The singular and mysterious mausoleum on the road-side a little beyond Albano—a massive quadrangle crowned by five cones, the whole of peperino blocks—is better preserved, and has been carefully restored, being now picturesquely overshadowed by ivy and creeping plants. Though recognized by authorities as the tomb of Aruns, the son of Porsenna, killed at the siege of Aricia, the popular name still adheres to this venerable pile, « Sepolcro degli Orazj e Curiazi. » It was D'Hancarville, about 1790, who first advanced the theory now accepted. Zoega, a few years after, first entered the central cone on the summit for containing the ashes of the dead, and whose cavity may be seen from below. Ricci assumed that here had

heen placed the remains of Pompey by the nobly sorrowing Cornelia, after she had erected to him this Mansoleum. Another theory supposes it to have been raised under Augustus to the Azzian family, that of the Emperor's mother. In the beautiful villa of Prince Doria, open to the public at all hours, are easily traced and followed, among plantations of underwood and clustering ivy, the substructures of the palace of Domitian, handed down to celebrity and infamy by Juvenal.

The deep wooded glen between this town and Aricia, a scene of wild loveliness, is now spanned by the triple arcades of the majestic viaduct, opened and inaugurated by Papal benediction a few yeas ago, the first stone of which was laid in the first year of Pius IX; and the work prosecuted without interruption during the revolution, thanks to the disinterested munificence of Signor Jacobini, the lately deceased Minister of Commerce and Public Works. It ranks among the finest modern monuments erected by Italian government, nor do its vast and graceful proportions at all disturb the grandeur and repose, the silent harmony of the scene around. Scarcely could be found in Italy a more historic view than from the summit of these arcades. On one side, a profound glen, whose receding semicircle is clothed with noble forests, surmounted by the steep cone of the Latian Mount, where a Passionist convent occupies the site of Jupiter's temple. On the other side, the far-sweeping undulations of the Campagna and Maremma, bounded by a long silvery line of ocean, comprising the entire scenery of the latter books of the Æneid — Antium, Ardea, Ostia, and Lanuvium, all, however imperfectly their remains or sites be distinguishable, still in some form extant and identified. And what memories, from the dim light of antique fable, lie brooding over the umbrageous masses of those Oak and Elm and Chestnut woods, now clad in their Autumnal luxuriance! — the

mysteriously guarded sanctuary of the Scythian Diana, transported from barbaric shores, Orestes and Iphigenia, on their flight, after joyous recognition, from the unhospitable coast and bloody rites of Tauris; Hippolytus, after being dragged by the wild horses, reanimated through the chaste Goddess's care for her injured votary, and in that renewed existence consigned to calm and divine protection under the presiding Nymph, Egeria, amidst these very woods that still, sleeping in the rich sunlight, breathe the spirit of repose with Nature's eloquence to chasten and elevate —

Vallis Aricinae silva proecinctus opacâ
— locus antiqua relligione sacer —
Hic latet Hippolytus. (1)

Euripides, Ovid, Horace, and (descending to modern tmus) Racine in the « Phèdre », Goethe in the « Iphigenia in Tauris, » have contributed to the memories, and associated their names with the beauty of the wooded Aricia. Beyond the little platform on which is picturesquely piled up the modern town, the highway to Naples is further facilitated by two less conspicuous but handsome viaducts, both bearing date the ninth year of the present Pontificate. Aricia, first mentioned in history under the reign of Tarquinius Superbus, and next as being besieged by Porsena, is now entirely comprised within the limits of the ancient citadel; and it is evident, from various interesting ruins in the cultured valley below, that its principal structures must have extended far over that now uninhabited, wild, but picturesque region. We may learn with astonishment that this town had once 50,000 inhabitants, and could send a force of 17,000 against the Etruscans. In the year 411 it probably shared the fate of all the towns between Rome and Naples, demolished or pillaged by Genserie. Again was it destroyed by the Saracens.

(1) See also the Metamorphoses, lib. XV.

in 827; and when Flavio Biondo wrote his *Italia Illustrata*, in 1451, Aricia was a village confined within about the same limits as at present. A wall of Cyclopean masonry, without cement, crowned by mediæval turrets, marks the boundary of the ancient fortifications on the side overlooking this valley, where a platform, at one extremity of the little town, commands a grand sweep of landscape bounded by the sea, with the entire classic coast of Latium (the now desolate Maremma) to the west, the forest-clad heights of the Alban hills to the east. Hence descending, a steep road, where remnants of antique pavement may be observed, leads to the level of the Appian way, which passes immediately under Aricia, no longer followed by the modern road, the latter separating from it at the foot of the descent before this valley is entered. That declivity is identified by Nibby with the « Clivus Virbii, » celebrated by Juvenal as the great resort of beggars, who pestered travellers on their way to Aricia from Rome —

Dignus Aricinos qui mendicaret ad axes, etc.

The remains of the city in the fields lining this branch of the Appian below the modern town, are numerous, but (strange to say) only within late years fully explored or illustrated — Nibby having been first to identify and describe them in detail. Most remarkable is the temple of *Diana*, a quadrangle of massive stonework, covered by a modern roof, the interior, measuring 28 by 60 palms, having evidently served as the *cella*, surrounded by a peristyle (though of columns are no remains) and by an outer wall forming a sacred inclosure, of which some fragments, a mass of volcanic stones, are preserved where the slope of the hill rises, now covered by the vegetation of a fertile garden. Till the publication in 1819 of Nibby's « Antiquarian Tour in the Environs of Rome, » no writer had ever mentioned, as among the ruins of Aricia, this singular pile, now identified with

the poetically famous sanctuary, founded, according to some, by Hippolytus; to others, by Orestes. In its main features it resembles the ruins of the Juno temple at Gabii, the only edifice still ereet, among vaguely-distinguished fragments strewing the Campagna, on that site. Near the Arician temple was discovered, in 1791, the unique bas-relief of the priest of Diana in the act of taking possession of office by slaying his predecessor (confirming the account of Strabo as to this sanguinary consecration, prescribed by traditional usage), which was unfortunately lost to the learned world by means of the Cardinal, its owner, who sent it to Majorca; but an engraving (now rare) is preserved in Gell's « Topography of Rome » — a book adopting all Nibby's theories in regard to the Arician antiquities (Fasti, III, 3) (1). The interior of Diana's fane is now desecrated into a stable, which I found occupied by asses, and in the dim light admitted though the ancient doorway may be perceived agricultural implements, with those of the kitchen, dried gourds hung from the ceiling, and other rustic objects, in the confusion of a Dutch picture. The upper part has been divided from the lower by beams, thus forming a loft used as a granary, and impeding all farther investigation. Other picturesque but inexplicable ruins lie among these gardens and fields; some in polygonal blocks of stone, others in the *opus lateritium* of Roman brickwork. On one side, where slopes covered with gardens and orchards bound the vale, are remains of massive constructions against the declivity for the support of the road ascending to Aricia — their dark grey stone well harmonized in tint with the luxuriant plants and foliage of the fig-tree that hang above. An emissary of Cyclopean masonry opens from the precipitous declivity, under the road, with a narrow lofty

(1) The dominion of this ferocious priesthood was maintained till the time of Caligula.

entrance, through which is seen an abruptly curving channel, still filled with water, traversed, at a short distance from the orifice, by a ponderous arch, across which spreads the gnarled stem of a tree, forcing itself through the huge masses of stone — the growth of how many centuries! This emissary must evidently communicate with the lake of Albano; but the celebrated work undertaken by injunction of the Oracle at the time of the siege of Veii, the channel whose opening off the shore of that lake is one of the most extraordinary and still perfect among Roman antiquities, is not to be confounded with this. Of another emissary, in this valley, there remains only an arched orifice, of similar massive construction with the above-named, at a level with the Appian way, and now quite dry.

Strolling amidst these wildly beautiful yet luxuriant solitudes below Aricia, about the hour of sunset, one may meet groups of peasants, male and female, returning from the fields, with spade or mattock, some having countenances to be called handsome, though evidently a poor and uncultivated people. By both sexes are undertaken almost the same toils, and the women work as many hours as the men, though paid at lower rates. From twelve to eighteen pence would represent, in English money, the day's pay of these labourers; but for the weaker sex only six to eightpence is allowed. In the months when southern heat reaches its climax, these poor peasants leave their cottages at midnight, or an hour after, go to the fields, remain toiling till an hour before noon, and then return for repose during a time before the resuming of labor at the cooler hours. A poor man who accompanied me on an excursion with his donkey, told me he worked usually 12 hours a day, and in the hot months from midnight to noon, for 25 or 30 *baiocchi* wages; that with his family, like most of those of like condition in these parts, he lived entirely on herbs and legumes, with the additional luxury of meat only on

great festivals. The charge of indolenee, brought with reason against the population of Rome, cannot be made fairly against the peasantry of agricultural regions in this neighbourhood; and, sinee a comfortable establishment for board and lodging was opened some years ago at Aricia, the experiences of the traveller favourably contrast with those of Horace, on his immortalized journey to Brundusium:

Egressum magna me excepit Aricia Roma
Hospitio modico, etc.

The worthy Boniface here, a respectable proprietor, who presides at the common table for the 12 o'clock dinner of his guests, told me, that, whilst the grape disease was raging, his eighty vineyards only yielded a few pounds of grapes sufficient for the desert of his well-spread table, whilst for the coltivation of them alone his expenses were 600 scudi annually! Since wines had risen in price, great improvement had appeared in the morals of this district, and, at the period I speak of, it was extremely rare for any festival to be disturbed by strife or bloodshed, formerly the tragic *finale* to the amusements of these people, in some resort or other, almost every Sunday evening (1) Yet the Aricians pride themselves on their piety; and the early Masses, even on work days, are attended by many poor laborers in that circular church —whose cupola picturesquely crowns this little place on its height. In the Holy Week the procession of the *Cristo Morto*, late on Good Friday here, is attended with demostrations of fervent devotion, among the friars and confraternities following the image of the Dead Saviour, some being accustomed to scourge themselves the whole way — for such forms of medieval piety, now withdrawn from the

(1) Facts, however, which (as observed) the passing visitor is not likely to see anything of. Cases of brigandage have been, of late years, numerous and most daring in these parts.

public gaze in Rome, still appear without reserve in these unsophisticated regions. That most pictorial among fêtes, the *Infiorata*, for the octave of Corpus Domini, at Genzano, has been long suspended, I believe only occurring once since the late revolutions, after being formerly triennial. Each family in that little town, consisting mainly of one steep irregular street, unites in the common costs and cares of preparing the brilliant decoration so beautifully designed in the form of a carpet of brightest flowers, spread before each house by the inmates, so that the whole way is thus strewn for the procession of the Holy Sacrament to pass, and the fairest gifts in his creation thus offered to the Saviour of the World. Vast and splendid as is the procession round the colonnades of St. Peter's, and magnificent the benediction of the Host at its high altar by the Pontiff, that most triumphal celebration among all that occur during the Summer in Rome, is surpassed in affecting and expressive beauty by the *Infiorata* near the lake of Nemi. There is a poetic fantasy, rather than superstition, associated with this festival, the most beautiful I know of among popular ideas of the preternatural in Rome: the myriad fire-flies that glance, in perpetual restless play among the underwood, groves or hedges, nightly during some weeks of May and june, beginning to appear when the corn is ripening, and vanishing about the time of these early harvests, are said to be kindled, the hallowed tapers for Nature's own altar, in honor of that produce to become consecrated into the « Panem de coelo » the sacramental Body of the Lord!

One of the byways of Italian Literature, often richly suggestive, is formed by those local annals that have been frequently compiled by laborious and learned men (in great part ecclesiastics) with little reason to hope for awards of profit, less of fame. A Canon Dotti wrote the best among different histories of Albano, carried down to the year 1700;

and earlier, had been treated this subject by an archdeacon Santorio, whose unpublished MS. at last descended to the shop of a cheesemonger, where same antiquarian fortunately found, and rescued it. A history of Albano, Nemi and Genzano, dedicated to Alexander VII, is preserved in MS, at the Chigi library. That same Pontiff commissoned one Monsignor Rossi to write the story of of Aricia, ancient and modern, which he worked up in two parts, but this also remains, an unpublished MS, in the library above named, that of Pope Alexander's family. The « History of Ariccia, Genzano and Nemi » by the Canon Lucidi (1796) contains, however, all that can be desired of information, anterior to its date, respecting these pleasant places of autumnal resort from Rome. During a sojourn here, I got hold of this old book, in a massive volume, and found enough in its pages to entertain several solitary hours, much that was worth noting for remembrance. Among gay and serious matters here compiled, are the annals of a fearful tragedy accounting for the extinction of one of those great houses whose ambition defied the Popes, and whose mutual conflicts preyed upon their subjects during long ages of turbulence. It was in the year 1223 that Aricia became incorparated with the feudal possessions of the Savelli, but, with Albano, to be wrested from them by Alexander VI, in order to constitute a patrimony far the sons of Lucretia Borgia. Not long subsequently to the decline of the Borgia house, however, these estates were recovered, to be again held by the Savelli till the extinction of that house also, shortly after the event that took place here in 1534. At that time were living the last Duke, or Prince Savelli, and his only son, a youth of accomplishments and talents, besides other attractions that made him a favorite from the court to the cottage. Too spirited to be content (like some Roman patricians, of past and present time) with the life or honors of a carpet-knight, he desired

to enter the armies of Charles V; but the doating father could not think of parting with an only child, last scion of that noble line to perpetuate it after his death: at home he must remain, and soon was arranged an alliance of suitable advantages for the heir of such a house, the daughter of the Marquis del Vasto of Naples, being the chosen bride, to become the wife of young Savelli, as soon as she should attain her 13th year, with a dowry of 800,000 crowns. Meantime, spending, as usual, a part of the Summer months on the estates at Aricia, the heir of the Savelli saw, for the first time, a maiden of rare beauty and respectable connnections; he became deeply enamoured, and did not despair of winning her, though she was already engaged to Cristoforo, a vassal and favorite of the Savelli lords at Aricia. The Prince urged his suite with caution, only (it seems) by letter, and endeavored to gain the mother to his interest by rich presents. But neither parents nor daughter could be corrupted, and the former, perceiving the peril to their child, hastened the marriage with Cristofero. Even at the wedding solicitations were renewed, the princely lover sending for the occasion a richly embroidered boddice, *guardaccuore*, to the rage of the bridegroom, who was disposed instantly to abandon his wife and native place for ever. His jealousies soon destroyed the happiness of their union; but her sweetness and inalterable virtue triumphed. Not only did she remain faithful, but punctually revealed to her husband every overture made to her by the high-born lover, who went so far as to quit his palace for a house opposite that of the married pair, that he might continually observe and draw her into conversation at the window. Once finding her there, just as the Prince appeared opposite, after forbidding her ever even to look at him, the husband drew his dagger, and was only prevented from stabbing her by the interposition of his brother, a priest. This amorous persecution was avoided by the removal to

another house; but letters from the Prince continued to attempt the wife's honour. These she invariably showed her husband, till at last, irritated, though not certainly « perplexed in the extreme, » he dictated an answer giving an assignation at midnight, only (he assured her) to punish by humiliating disappointment. At midnight young Savelli was received into that fatal house, and shown into a retired chamber by a servant woman.

Meantime the husband (to arrange with secrecy) had gone to Rome, but after dark had returned; he borrowed his wife's best dress and ornaments, the full-flounced petticoat (*guardinfante*) the collar and bracelets of gold, and rings in profusion. Disguised in this gear, he it was who met young Savelli at that hour and scene of intended seduction. Instantly firing, he sent five balls into his breast, then cut his throat, and with the help of a vine-dresser, a practised assassin hired beforehand, dragged the body through the dark street to the Savelli Palace, there to leave it, weltering in blood, on the threshold. The remorseless Italian husband had intended to kill his innocent wife, it is supposed, but she, apprised of what had taken place under her roof, fled that night to her mother's, and the murderer escaped, to wander in distant lands, safe from pursuit. Fearful was the sensation next morning in Aricia; the church-bells rang as if to call to arms; all the inhabitants were sequestered in their houses to prevent flight, while messengers from the local Governor were galloping to Rome to apprise the bereaved father and the authorities. The Pope, Paul III, immediately sent the Fisc, the chief notary, the *luogotenente* and other ministers, whose first proceeding was to arrest all the heads of familiers in Aricia, and carry away the wife of the murderer with all her relations, she to be imprisoned at Borgo Castello, they in Rome. The long track of blood having clearly indicated the spot of murder, there could be no doubt as

to the family among whom the guilty were to be sought, but never found. For six months the prosecution continued; the hapless wife was frequently, and by various means, tortured during her examinations, but always persisting in the same confession that exculpated herself, it seems with perfect truth. In the end her relatives were acquitted, but all banished from the states, while her own sentence (despite proofs that modern justice would have admitted) was to death by the axe! So tragic a story, involving the interests of persons so high-placed, naturally excited attention throughout Italy; a report of it was drawn up expressly, to be sent by Cardinal Gajetano to the Emperor. One of the imperial house, the Duchess of Parma, interested herself deeply in the misfortunes, the beauty and innocence of the accused wife, and petitioned the Pope that she might be saved. Paul III had already signed the mandate for execution, and refused to revoke it by his own act, but consented to refer the final decision absolutely to the bereaved Duke Savelli; to him the Duchess addressed herself, and he had the generosity to yield, so that life and pardon were secured to the poor exhausted prisoner, exempted (through the good Duchess's interest) not only from the capital sentence, but all subordinate penalties. To the court of Parma, from the dungeon and torture chamber, she was at once removed, there to fill an honored post till the death of her benefactress, after which she entered the Duchess of Modena's service. The Court of Rome, not yet desisting from the enquiry, after many other innocent persons had been brought to trial, offered 30,000 scudi to whoever should bring in the assassin alive, besides also (circumstance characteristic of that time and government) promising to the chiefs of the robber bands then sufficiently powerful, a handsome reward for whoever should bring his severed head! but all in vain, and it was supposed Cristoforo had taken refuge somwehere in the Turkish dominions. As to that cele-

brated family struck by this fearful chastisement, its blight was never recovered from. The blow destroyed the reason of the aged Duke, who had to be placed in confinement, where his lady attended him till he died a lunatic. The only survivor of the race, already advanced in life, afterwards married, but was disappointed in his hopes of an heir. All the Savelli property at Aricia, including those noble forests that form so distinguished a feature in its scenery, passed to the Chigi family; and the ancient Savelli Castle rising over the ruins of the theatre of Marcellus, near the Tiber, is now the modernized Orsini Palace.

Frascati, thanks to the civilizing influences of the railway, has advantages over other towns among these mountains; yet still is there room for improvement. Here, in a city the episcopal see of a Cardinal, surrounded by the villas and fairest demesnes of Rome's highest families, are deficiencies scarcely to be apprehended in any village of Great Britain. A tolerably good library in the seminary (which maintains more than 50 students) may be had access to through the politeness of the clergy; but no bookseller's, scarce a shop that deserves the title of stationer's, is found at Frascati! One remembers Petrarch's dismay at the difficulty of obtaining ink at Liege — yet this was in the XIV century, and I have proved it difficult to secure writing-paper here, within sight of Rome, in the XIX! Yet how many pleasant summer-days, and characteristic fêtes enter into the recollections of that beautifully situated little town! The genius of Sannazaro has transferred to his verse, in the «Arcadia,» the true expression of that scenery, so softly romantic! Frascati has also its annual routine of Autumnal gaieties, races, fire-works etc, duly advertised and attractive in Rome. But nothing of the kind I have seen in Italy equalled the centenary celebrations, three years ago, in honour of its patron Saints, Sebastian and Roch, the second such

commemoration since 1656, when certain relics of those Patrons were brought to light in a formerly ruinous old church here — as, indeed, in many parts of Italy, the antique idea of the Palladium is revived with modified reference to the heavenly Protector, guardian Saint of the locality. To this celebration it was desired special *éclat* should be given as the solemn act of thanksgiving for preservation from cholera, a scourge Frascati has been continuously spared from. A *pia unione* of 24 citizens, appointed for the custody of those relics, five other pious Confraternities, the clergy, magistracy, and guilds of artisans still in extant organisation even in this small community, had united efforts and means for investing with all possible pomp this festival of eight days' duration, the special sacred pageant to consist of the removal of the relics, with immense processions, first from their proper church to the Cathedral, then back again to be enshrined at *SS. Sebastiano e Rocco*. Pontifical high Mass sung by Cardinals, and grand Vespers, alike accompanied by orchestral music, formed the sacred observances during these eight days, while the profane were provided for in form of horse-races, with and without riders, tombolas, fire-works, and general illuminations. Nothing that occurs in Protestant countries could give any idea of the picturesque combinings, the universally participated excitement and interest, the singular blending of the gay and the solemn at such occasions in Italy — particularly in these provinces. The Cathedral of this town, restored by the Cardinal de York, its Bishop, whose tomb gives him the title of King of England, (1) was now transformed into one great pavilion of silk and damask hangings (in little regard, indeed, to harmony of colours, but still gor-

(1) In the vaults of St. Peter's where the Cardinal, his brother and father, are styled James III, Charles III, and Henry IX of England, though, on Canova's monument in the church above, the fa-

geously effective) illumined with hundreds of lights reflected from tapers and pendant lustres in mirrors against the pilasters. And other details were quite beyond the common routine of festal paraphernalia, both in costliness and beauty, most artistic being the triumphal arch, constructed with admirable skill, as such ephemeral trophies are by Italians, with columns, attic, entablature, reliefs and statuary all of fragile material, yet so perfect in illusion that at some distance all seems marble and travertine. The Saviour, SS. Sebastian and Roch, rose in colossal forms, prepared, as usual, by means of plaster for the heads, hands, or other parts exposed, and linen draperies soaked in lime-water, the whole attached to a mere frame-work. In the evening came the races for prizes of *pallia* (cloth of gold or silver) and 5 to 20 scudi in money, before spectators thronged from far and near, in all the pretty varieties of peasant-costume; and at night such fireworks as vied, on smaller scale, with the *Girandola* in Rome, the arena that planted esplanade, the favorite resort outside this town, commanding the entire view of the Campagna and encircling mountains. Looked upon from the balcony of the hotel outside Frascati, the gaiety of grouping and magnificence of scenery here associated, were indescribably striking. One looked with less pleasure, but still with curiosity, on the scene of intense excitement and densest thronging on the piazza before the Cathedral, for the lottery-drawing (the tombola) whose highest prize, 200 scudi, alone formed an event of moment in such a town as this. On the last Sunday, Cardinal Altieri's celebration of high Mass, with music long and complicated enough for a grand Oratorio (too operatic indeed, but with some finely exulting passages) seemed, in circumstances of pomp, scarcely less

ther only is so entitled. The Cardinal seems to have been contented to accept Frascati in lieu of the British Empire, and has left an honored memory here.

august, (on reduced scale) than a Papal « function » at St. Peter's. Late, after the grand Vespers and winding-up of all with the transfer of the relics to their original shrine, in long-drawn state of ecclesiastic and civil accompaniment, was held the indispensable *accademia*, the «Tusculans» (Frascati's literary aristocracy) assembling to honor the occasion in the very church of the Saints thus celebrated, now converted into the semblance of a public hall rather than a sanctuary. Cardinal Altieri opened with a discourse, not inappropriate and in style showing scholarship; a cantata followed, sung to orchestral instruments, and afterwards, numerous recitations in verse of the usual academic calibre — more euphony than originality. Such a series of rites, pageants and gaieties, though confused, remains impressed in the memory, because full of character and meaning, and set, as it were, in a framework of scenery never to be forgotten. A walk, the last evening, to the ruins of Tusculum, secured one of the enduring impressions I was enabled, this season, to carry away from the Alban Hills. Returning through those lofty woods and along the winding lanes down the mountain, and just arriving in time for the illumination of the town, against the background of the Campagna, when that vast sea-like landscape lay in the purple dimness succeeding to the cloudless sunset of an Italian June-day, I enjoyed an effect indescribable. Protestantism has done away with such celebrations as the above described; but are its followres therefore the better; are the laborious classes in its cities, socially on a par with the majority in towns among these mountains, the happier in the routine of their monotonous existence? All this splendour and preparation, for the Frascati centenary, involving expences considerable to a place of the description, connecting itself with no object tangible or material, bore witness to an immortal interest, a spiritual reality; and remembering it, I cannot but echo the exclamation of Madame de Stael, « que j'aime l'inutile! »

MONASTIC ORDERS AND THEIR CHURCHES

La storia del Monachismo è in gran parte la storia della civiltà d'Europa e del mondo.
GIOBERTI

The introduction of the Monastic system into the Latin Church has been referred to the immediate influence of St. Athanasius, and for date to about the year 340. That great father of the Eastern Church, about this period, driven from his see by the Arian persecution, visited Rome, accompanied by some Egyptian monks from those solitudes where the primitive institution of Monachism had sprung up, first on principles of almost superhuman rigour and total isolation from social life, but subsequently with development into the cenobite system that soon peopled Nitria and the wildest deserts with austere, but operose and beneficent recluses — severed indeed from the great world, yet still a religious family united by ties of duty and discipline among themselves, hospitable and charitable. They were divided into three classes — *Eremites*, living in wild places and complete isolation, whose mode of life received its first example and inspiration from St. Paul of Egypt, about the year 250 — *Anchorites*, form-

ing colonies round a common sanctuary, but still each alone in their multitude, each occupying his cell apart from his brethren; and *Cenobites*, leading the community life properly so called, under the government of a superior and discipline of a rule, recognizing their proper founder in St Antony, also of Egypt, who, in the year 270, first followed the example of Paul by flying into the desert, but with results of greater importance through influence over the followers ultimately assembling around him, struck by his example, and inspired by the same fervor of self-denial. Helyot, however, refers Monachism for its earliest origin to the Christian solitaries called Therapeuts, who had settled, in more primitive antiquity, on the shores of the lake Moeris. The regugular community-life was first introduced in the West, about 350, by St. Eusebius, Bishop of Vercelli, who reduced to this observance the assembled clergy of his own cathedral, becoming thus the founder of the regular Canons in association under a rule. The primitive rule of St. Basil, followed by all the Greek monasteries, was first adopted at Rome in 550, but that of St. Benedict (early in the VI century) attained such unprecedented success and ascendancy, that all other systems of Monachism in the West became eventually absorbed in this Order, the great norma of the cloistral institution. In 649 considerable accession to the monastic ranks in Italy was caused by the flight from the Monothelite persecution in the East; and again, in the VIII century, by a similar exodus from the relentless sectarianism of the Byzantine Church, when the Iconoclast principle was ascendant at Constantinople. The regular cloister life was not definitively disciplined for female Orders in Rome till the XIII century, when St. Dominic, having assembled the yet scattered Nuns, prevailed on them to submit to this stricter observance. But, with whatever modifications for the one sex, the development of the monastic principle in Rome, after its first importa-

tion from the East, was most rapid. Following St. Benedict came St. Gregory the Great, to give impulse and consistency to it. At the end of the VI century were 3000 nuns in this City, all maintained by that great and good Pontiff. In the time of Charlmagne were 44 monasteries here; and in the X century, 40 of Rome's churches belonged to communities of monks, 20 to those of nuns. The suppression of monasteries by the French government, in 1812, was carried out completely throughout these States, excepting only four of the female Orders, and four houses for those of the other sex. Nearly all were reintegrated after the return of Pius VII; and, two years afterwards the statistics of Rome reported 1286 males and 1172 females, as inmates of the cloister. But in the last revolution (April 1849) the system was exposed to trial yet unexperienced, when the republican Triumvirate declared by decree that society did not recognize the perpetuity of religious vows, and that all, in whatever condition, were at liberty to free themselves from such ties, by returning into the world, with guaranties against every opposition. There was not, I have been assured, a single instance of such defection; and how populous, shortly afterwards, were the cloisters in Rome, was ascertained by the census of 1850. At present, the monasteries and convents for males in this city, are 65, those for females 50 (1). For the most part the Con-

(1) A monastery is a religious house of either males or females belonging to the monastic orders, properly so called, distinct from those of Friars and Regular Clerics; and Monasteries may also he subdivided into Abbeys (governed by Lord Abbots or Abbesses) and Priories (governed by Priors or Prioresses). A *Convent* is a house of males or females attached to any Order of Friars, dependant on alms, as Franciscans, Passionists, or to Orders originally constituted in such dependance, but now allowed to own property through modifying of their rule — as Conventual Franciscans, Dominicans; also a house of

vents and Monasteries in Rome present rather dilapidated appearance, with want of repair, and neglect that gives a certain melancholy to their extensive premises. Even those of most dignity have a forlorn or half desolate look, implying they have seen better days. But the Convents of Jesuits, Oratorians, and a few others, still evince the prosperity of institutions in their prime. Rigid economy, but scrupulous neatness, may be perceived in cells simply furnished, with no superfluities, a few books, a few devotional symbols etc. From churches resplendant with precious marbles and gold, we pass into cloisters where all indicates the spirit of self-denial, and either absolute poverty or austere simplicity — the life, in short, which Pagan Philosophers, Seneca and Cicero (to say nothing of Christian authorities) have agreed in extolling as consentaneous with the moral dignity and true objects of man's existence. At almost all these establishments is given charity to the poor in food every day; or on days determined, every week, either to all mendicants of the parish, or to numbers otherwise limited, often without any limitation.

The Franciscans at Ara Coeli, the Capuchins at S. *Maria della Concezione*, the Dominicans at the Minerva, the Augustinians at S. Agostino, the Servites at S. Marcello, the Jesuits at the Gesù and *Collegio Romano* distribute food daily, after the conventual dinner; at the *Collegio*, men and women being thus succoured on alternate days, while from the Gesù, besides the public distribution, several poor families, above the class of paupers, receive their meals, at their own homes, daily. With more or less limitation all Convents in Rome,

Clerics possessing property — as Jesuits, Servites, Barnabites, Redemptorist. But more correct distinction is observed in Italy by styling the houses of Religious, who are neither Monks nor Friars, « Case professe, » as the chief residence of the Jesuits in Rome.

and its States, carry out the same principle of charitable relief. It cannot be denied that the Religious Orders, generally speaking, have declined from their olden ascendancy, as well in Italy as other lands, though exception must be made for one great influence (at least in the Papal and Neapolitan States) — the Jesuits, who, however hated, proscribed, and opposed by liberalism and the spirit of progress, by almost all the intelligence and patriotism of Italy, continue, especially at Rome, to maintain a dominion over the moral life, over mind and conscience, perhaps scarcely surpassed in any age previous. Splendour of ritual, eloquence in the pulpit, exhaustless activity, experience and judgment in the Confessional, have secured to their establishments here a distinctive superiority, both as to offices and attendance, apparent to every observer. But nothing more bespeaks the decay of the Orders whose renown belongs to antiquity, than the state of their churches and residences in the Catholic Metropolis; vast, costly and majestic, but (for the most part) with an air of cold desertion, a sluggish stealing of decay amid magnificence, dilapidated cloisters, long silent corridors — such appear now, like monuments to their own Past, the sanctuaries of Benedictines, Carthusians, Cistercians, Camaldulese, Olivetans in Rome. The great Benedictine Monastery of S. Callisto has an average of 20 fathers, whose premises are more than half shared with a French Regiment; the SS. Apostoli Convent of Franciscans possessing property (Conventuals), capable of containing about 200, has only an average of 40, priests and novices, in its actual community. The Cistercians at S. Croce, and Camaldulese at S. Gregorio, comparatively numerous, are but a small modicum relatively to the vastness of those buildings; the Carthusians are almost disappearing; and the present occupation, more or less partial, of almost every Monastery and Convent in Rome (even those of the prosperous Jesuits) by French troops, is a speak-

ing comment both on the modern conditions of the Religious Orders, and the political degradation to which its Government has reduced the Roman States. The Mendicant Orders are still numerically strong, and vie with the followers of St. Ignatius in ascendancy over the popular mind, though in different spheres, the former acting especially on the poor, the latter on the wealthy and educated. Franciscan and Capuchin Convents have large Communities in all towns of these States, while in the country, if no other religious houses be found, there at least, in the wildest villages, embosomed among the woods of the remotest glen, or crowning the steep rocky height of the Apennines, the Sabine, Volscian ar Tusculan hills, will be descried the grey Convent of the mendicant friars with its white church-front, high square campanile, and Via Crucis painted against the walls between which the steep road ascends to its lowly porch. Yet with much that is useful and respectable, the position of mendicant Orders in Italy has now become an anachronism and inconsequence, exposed to unpopularity continually increasing, though yet much less felt in the country than the town. Strange it seems, but perfectly true, that in Rome the term « frate » should now be used as a byword of reproach, scarcely pronounced but with the emphasis of sarcasm or antipathy! The people, inexorable in deductions from that which is sensibly presented to view, and by nothing so impressed as by the lessons themselves can elicit from realities, have beheld in this City, for six centuries, the spectacle of great religious establishments maintained entirely by alms, without the obligation of labour. The Franciscans at Ara Coeli now average 120, the Capuchins, at the *Concezione*, not much less than 100, both these Orders having other houses, the former several very large ones, in the city and its environs. Able-bodied friars, wallet on shoulder, on their rounds among the shops and markets in the early morning, to levy their con-

tributions in kind or specie (mostly the former), and who (perhaps often unjustly) are inferred to be living confortable at the cost of others, without acquitting themselves by any duty of their debt incurred with society, nor ever being raised to the dignity of sacred office, are representatives of a system suggesting arguments clear enough for every intelligence. The holy and extatic St. Francis *recommended* his followers to work for their bread, whilst permitting them to accept whatever was charitably offered: it is the *decline*, not the carrying out of his spirit, that has caused loss of credit to his followers. I well remember, what surprised me the more at a time when the policy of Pius IX was causing strong reaction, and fortifying by loyalty, once fervently sincere, the enfeebled throne of his temporal sovereignty — how, when for the first time gazing an the magnificent procession of Corpus Domini at St. Peter's, I heard the outspoken sarcasms among the crowd under the colounades, as, in that long array slowly filing by with torch, cross, and banner, some friar of rubicund or burly aspect every now and then attracted jeering notice amidst the hundreds of religious mendicants who walk in that procession. For myself, I can gladly bear witness to the virtues, the hospitality and piety I have known in the cloisters of Franciscans; but the systematized profession of religious poverty, I cannot but consider injurious in the example set to the poorer classes of this country, who need the lessons of industry, from poverty not preferred but cheerfully self-supported, and in whom it is desirable that the dignity of labour should be inculcated — as the words of an Apostle may be cited for. Not long ago, an intelligent Italian priest, with whom I made chance acquaintance in the companionship of travel, conversing on this subject, gratified me by his full acquiescence in the view, that mendicant Religious Orders, after being a great and salutary influence providentially created in the

Middle Ages, had now ceased to be in harmony with the times, or required by the conditions of Christian Society.

« I fancy (says Fleury) that in the monasteries may be found vestiges of the arrangement of ancient Roman houses, as they are described by Vitruvius and Palladio. The church, which stands foremost in order to allow free access to seculars, occupying the place of that outer hall which the ancients styled *atrium*, from this one passed into a court surrounded by covered galleries, to which was given commonly the name, *peristyle* — precisely answering to the cloister, which we enter from the church, — thence passing into other compartments, as the Chapter, answering to the *exhedra* of the Ancients, the Refectory, to the *triclinium*, and the garden, usually at the back of the whole edifice, just as were those of antique dwelling houses. » The Generals or Procurators of all religious Orders reside in Rome; and at this day those properly called monks, who are represented by Procurators General resident here, are: Basilians, Benedictines (called Cassinesi) Camaldulese, Vallombrosians, Camaldulese Hermits of Tuscany and of Monte Corona, Cistercians and those of La Trappe, Olivetans, Silvestrians, Jeronymites, Carthusians, Maronites of Aleppo and those of Lebanon, Armenians of St. Antony, Armenian Mechitarists of Venice, and Basilian Greco-Melchites.

Benedictines

This renowned Order, long the only model and example of all others in the Latin Church, was founded in 520, and had its birth-place at Subiaco, where its sainted Patriarch, after spending three years in profoundest solitude, amid scenes of wild grandeur yet scarcely reached by cultivation, ultimately collected around him a band of followers who lived under his direction. But Monte Cassino, to which St. Be-

nedict afterwards retired, and where he died, surrounded by his community, has ever held rank as principal establishment of the Order. Born at Norcia in the Ducky of Spoleto, 580, of noble parentage, Benedict had repaired in early life to Rome to prosecute his studies, but was so revolted by the spectacle of corrupt manners in that degenerate city, that he fled, when still very young, to seek in solitude that peace and communion with Deity he had hitherto sighed for in vain. The fame of his sanctity soon extended abroad from the forests and caves of Subiaco. The monks of Vicovaro, who followed the rule of St. Basil, invited him to became their superior, but accustomed to a life of laxity, and ill-suffering the discipline he enforced for reforming their unworthy manners, they attempted to destroy the saintly man they would not obey, by poison offered him in the refectory, preserved from which (according to the legend, by miracle) he abandoned them to retire again to his cavern-cell, where his followers soon became numerous. After the founding of twelve small monasteries, each occupied by twelve monks, in this vicinity, he was induced to leave the spot, harassed by the persecutions of an unworthy priest jealous of his ascendancy, and hence travelled into the southern provinces, converted the idolaters who still adhered to the worship of Apollo, destroyed the fane of their idol on Monte Cassino, and founded on that spot, first two chapels, and finally a superior Monastery, which, after many destructions and restorations, is still the most magnificent in Italy. The primitive rule of St. Benedict prescribes as to food and labour, the care of the sick and hospitality to strangers, no less strictly than as to religious engagements. On the subject of prayer, he observes: « we hold it for certain that not for much speaking, but for purity of heart and penitential tears are our prayers accepted by the Deity. Therefore it is fit they should be brief, unless inspiration by Divine grace should extend them, and

perfectly pure.» Father Tosti, in his « History of the Abbey of Monte Cassino, » gives an attractive picture of the mode of life there instituted. « In this golden volume (he says of the rule) we find what was the internal discipline of the Monastery, what the life led by those primitive Cassinesi. The gates were open to every class of men upright in dispositions, without regard to age or rank, all being equal in the eyes of that legislator. Subsequently it was required in some monasteries that the members accepted should be nobles, but this St. Benedict never prescribed. The entire community was divided into three companies, children, novices and professed — the children having been offered by their parents to God, that from boyhood they might be consecrated to Him through the monastic life-the novices being those placed on trial that their vocation might be ascertained — the professed, the true monks, who had made vows of chastity, poverty and obedience; but their vows were not *solemn*, that is to say, not perpetual, though subsequently rendered such, as the rule was developed. Alll were laics except those who, after going through the strictest probation, had been raised by the abbot to the priesthood, and were distinguished from the rest by the tonsure in form of a crown — They rose at night for singing psalms, and passed the remaining night hours in reading sacred books or meditation. At break of day, they again engaged in psalmody; afterwards applied themselves to manual labor, cultivating the earth, gathering its fruits, or attending to those that were ripening; then again, at the close of day, returned to their psalmody. They sat at a common table, each receiving two pittances of dressed viands, to which sometimes was added a third; wine they were allowed to drink, hut abstained from flesh, though this was permitted to the sick. As to the quantity of food, nothing was prescribed, but after prolongation of labour it was more abundant, as also for other causes at discretion of

abbot. They slept in their habits upon couches, with neither provision for superfluous comfort nor extraordinary austerity, allowed sleep sufficient at night, as well as, during the Summer, in day-time. The sick and the stranger were cared for as objects of religious regard, rather indeed as though Christ himself were received in the person of such. » Monte Cassino continued, from the VI to the IX century, almost the only sanctuary of literature, the only seminary that produced fruits of learning or wisdom. Not but that, early as the VI century, other monasteries contained libraries noted for valuable contents; and the task of copying, by which the Monks rendered such services to all posterity in the proservation of classic literature, had become, even within this period, so especially their vocation, that *copyist* was commonly used as synonyme for monk (v. Tiraboschi). Muratori has preserved the catalogue of the library of Bobbio in the X century, including sacred and profane authors in considerable number, historians, orators, poets, and grammarians. England could not then vie with Italy, in letters; but Peterborough Abbey, in the XII century, had a library of 80 volumes, including a number of works on Canon Law, two complete sets of the Scriptures, the writings of St. Bernard and St. Anselm, five medical treatises, the « Gesta » of Henry II, the « Miracles of Thomas à Becket » in 5 volumes (!), Seneca, Martial, and Terence (« Memoirs of Libraries » by Edward Edwards). At the other great Benedectine Abbey of Farfa was initiated, towards the end of the XI century, a work that might be considered the first stage of modern History; the Archivist here undertaking to compile the records of the Monastery, with its diplomas and whatever other documents pertained to its affairs, by the year 1092 Farfa possessed three compilations of this kind; and other Monasteries soon followed the example, so that the Chronicles of the Cloister eventually supplied a groundwork or nucleus to European Story. First to distinguish

themselves by patronage of Art were the Benedectine superiors. The chronicles of La Cava (the great Monastery of the Trinity) mention the restoration of a church, with adornment in mosaic, ordered by the Abbot in 1082. Early in the XII century the Abbot of Subiaco had a church dedicated to the Virgin, embellished with paintings by his order. But the most conspicuous centre of sacred art, from its earliest European developments, was Monte Cassino. The valuable codes that once enriched its library, are now for the greater part in the Vatican. Very early did the rule of St. Benedict become influential throughout Europe, as the Order extended itself with rapidity yet unprecedented. Before the death of the Founder, in 543, that religious family owning him as their Patriarch, had planted its foundations in many distant countries; and the recluse of Subiaco lived to know himself the originator of one of the greatest Christian institutions. Trough saints Maurus and Placidus, his immediate disciples and pupils, it reached France and Sicily; others intrnduced it in Spain, and in less than two centuries all Monastic Orders had become affiliated to it. Charlemagne and Louis the First exerted themselves to secure acceptance of its rule in all the monasteries of their Empire; and the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle in 802, decreed that it should be universally adopted. From the IX century the Benedictines began to divide into various branches — Camaldolese, Celestines, Vallombrosian, Silvestrians, monks of Cluny and Grammont who severally introduced modifications or distinctions. The monks of Cluny had embraced the rule in the year 913, through means of St. Odillon (or Odo); the Camaldulese received it in 1060, from St. Romuald; the Cistercians in 1098, from St. Robert; the Carthusians, in 1080, from St. Bruno; the Celestines, in 1215, from Pietro di Morona (afterwards Pope); the Vallombrosians, in 1060, from St. John Gualberto; the Olivetans, founded at Siena 1370, and other communities of

less note became followers of St. Benedict. Lanfranc united all the English monasteries into a sole congregation, which, 1335, adopted a more severe discipline, according to the primitive type. Restorations in similar spirit (called reforms) were subsequently effected at different epochs — as that of the French congregation of St. Maurus, in 1621, so illustrious by its services to Literature, especially in the historic province.

Not only in the West, but in Asia also, as early as the VII century, had the Order widely extended itself. Benedictine Monasteries then rose in the valley of Jehosophat, in Galilee, on the summits of Carmel, Sion and Tabor; and after Mohammedan invasion had driven the primitive hermits and anchorites from Egypt, asylums of piety and study were again opened in the desert by Benedictines. In Iceland eight Monasteries, mostly Benedictine, the rest Augustinian, existed in the XIV century, numbering several noted writers, who have left, among works issued from those cloisters, a chronicle of all the Icelandic Bishops, and various poems on sacred themes in that language. At one medieval period the monasteries pertaining to this Order numbered 37,000. It would be difficult even to enumerate all those illustrious for sanctity, for learning, or position in the Church, who have gone forth from Benedictine cloisters. Early in the XIV century, Pope John XXII found, by diligent search into archives, that up to that period the Benedictine Order had possessed, from its origin, 25 Popes, 7000 Archbishops, 15,000 Bishops, 40,000 canonised or beatified Saints, and more than 224,000 of imperial or royal birth. In the XII century, observes Mabillon, so many were the Benedictine Pontiffs that it seemed as if the Holy See had become hereditary in the Order! and as to its possessions, a Benedictine writer, about the year 1480, states that if each monastery had its due, the third part of all lands within Christendom might be considered the property of Benedictines. In the Council of Basil,

XV century, the Benedictine Monasteries then existing were referred to as 82,741 in number. It appears, though disputes have arisen as to some individuals claimed, that at least 40 Popes have belonged to this Order, — among these such celelebrities as Gregory the Great, Gregory VII, Urban V, Benedict XIV, Pius VII. In England the Benedictine cloisters produced many ornaments to the national church; and after the schism of Henry VIII, Benedictines were again sent to that country (as for its conversion, in the VI century, under St. Gregory) by another Pope, Clement VIII, in the hope of bringing back that now Protestant people to the ancient fold. The newly discovered Continent was also confided to Benedictines for conversion, and the first missionaries sent from Rome to America, in 1503, were of this Order. In Australia also the great missionary enterprise was opened, for Catholicism, by St. Benedict's followers, whose monasteries there have recently risen to importance, and effected perhaps all that zeal could effect for the conversion of such savages as Christianity has to enlighten in those parts.

Since early ages the Basilica of St. Paul, on the Ostian way, has been under the care of these Benedictines, who, because aggregated to the congregation of Monte Cassino, are known as *Cassinesi*. They officiate here under the government of a mitred Abbot, residing in the monastery adjoining, though obliged by *malaria* to abandon it during the hottest months. The origin of this Monastery is lost in a night of obscurity. First mention of a religious residence at St. Paul's is found in a donation by St. Gregory, dated 604, bestowing certain possessions for the maintenance of lights over the Apostle's shrine, seeing that — as the holy Pontiff expresses — « ever burning lights are suitable for the tomb of him who, by the light of his doctrine and preaching, illumined the world. » But it is supposed the Convent in question was for females, nor annexed to, though in the vicinity of the Basilica. Some assert

that, about 649, the charge of this sanctuary was assigned to Benedictines, after being originally served by secular priests; and Mabillon proves that, when the Monastery was restored by Gregory II, in the VIII century, it had already been occupied by this Order. Nicolai, in his valuable history of St. Paul's, supposes the Monastery to have been founded in the VII century. In the X, the Emperor Otho was invited by the Pope to assist him in expelling from it the recalcitrant monks, and replacing them by a collegiate chapter. So great was the concourse of worshippers from Rome hither, that a colonnade, with marble columns and a leaden roof, was formed to connect the Basilica with the City by the Porta Trigemina—in all probability one of the most extensive and beautiful structures of early Christian architecture, and mentioned by Procopius, who states that the Goths, in their several sieges of Rome, ever respected the Basilica and Monastery, as well as the lives and property of all taking refuge there. No mention is found of this portico subsequently to the XI century. (1) The Vandals also respected St. Paul's at the sack of Rome by Genseric, in 455, when St. Leo's intercessions availed for the protection of this and the other great Basilicas. Charlemagne shewed his devotion at the shrine of the Apostle of the Gentiles by offering an altar, with sacred vessels, entirely of silver. But Lombards and Saracens were great despoilers of all sanctuaries, suburban to and not included within the walls of Rome. Twice was St. Paul's broken into and sacked by the latter, and once by the former, in the IX century. After the vigorous efforts of Leo II (immortalized by the pencil of Raffael) had been crowned with success in the engagement against the Sarcens at Ostia, 849, on his return that Pontiff indemnified the sanctuary here for its losses by the gift of a ciborium (or baldaechino) for the high al-

(1) It is supposed to have been destroyed by the imperial troops under Henry IV.

tar, supported by columns, all of massive silver. And after the second Saracenic pillage, Benedict III offered here a golden crown, a lamp and 7 crucifixes of silver, with silver ornaments for the Confessional, altogether 103 lbs weight. In the IX century several other Popes made costly offerings to St. Paul's. Leo VII, elected contrary to his will in 936, summoned to Rome the celebrated Abbot of Clugny, St. Odo, for two objects deemed highly important — the reconciliation between Hugo, King of Italy, and the turbulent Alberic, and the restotion of discipline at St. Paul's. Another reform was effected here, in the XI century, by that extraordinary man, one time Abbot of St. Paul's, who became Pope as Gregory VII. When Legate at Constantinople, Hildebrand ordered, from Greek artists there, a portal of bronze divided into 54 compartments, all adorned with figures chiselled in outline, for this Basilica. To purify the region from the bad air that desolates it, and to secure the sanctuary from frequent depredations by marauders (who used easily to reach it by the Tiber) John VIII, towards the end of the IX century, built round these walls a town called after himself, *Giovannopolis*, which has now totally disappeared. Its site is marked by the Cross, erected in the open meadow, near a spot where about 14,000 Romans were interred, victims to the plague in 1656. Both church and monastery seem to have been almost reduced to ruin during the residence of the Popes at Avignon and the subsequent schism of Antipopes. In 1443 Eugenius IV assigned to the monks here various benefices to supply means for procuring missals, sacred vessels and vestments, of which they still suffered deficiency. But a few years later they were required to contribute 3000 gold florins to the Crusade against the Turks under Calixtus III; yet great indeed was the fall of this Monastery since the time when a bull of Gregory VII contained the catalogue of donations to it, in castles, towns and villages, filling 4 pages in foglio, and, as Nicolai con-

cludes, it enjoyed revenues and possessions that might have sufficed for a secondary independant princedom. In the Vatican Archives is a record of its Abbots from the X to the XV century. The last great disaster suffered by this Monastery (prior to the conflagration of 1823) was in the interregnum after the death of Julius II, in 1513, when it was sacked, and the archives despoiled of many valued contents, moved by which, the Roman nobility then made instance to the Cardinals (before the Conclave) that a chapter of Canons, under a Cardinal Archpriest, should be appointed for the guardianship of St. Paul's; and the Monks, shortly afterwards, addressing Leo X, represented how serious had been the loss to their collection of MS. codes by an outrage which, occurring thus in times of peace, displays the lawless and unprotected state of society at that epoch. This Monastery has received many favours from the Holy See. Innocent III placed it under his immediate protection; and even during the residence at Avignon, it was not forgotten totally, like other churches, a bull of John XXII, from that city, in 1326, having ordered that the oblations received at the high altar should be appropriated, for five years, to the expense of the great mosaic on the facade, portions of which were preserved from the fire in 1823. Till the schism of Henry VIII, the Basilica was under the protection of England's kings, as its armorial shield, in different places within the Monastery — an arm brandishing a sword encircled by a fillet with a clasp, emblematic of the Order of the Garter — still attests. Mindful of this protection, the unfortunate prince recognised in Rome as James III of England, used annually to send a wax torch at the festival of the Purification, as royal oblation to St. Paul's. The Community here averages at present not more than 20 fathers, without including the novices; and about 30 students, placed here to receive an education, which, as imparted by the Benedictine fathers, is considered by some

parents the best obtainable in Rome. Conformably with the primitive rule, the education of youth is still, in all principal Benedictine houses of Italy, carefully attended to. The students, though engaged in secular pursuits as at other colleges, wear the same monastic habit (black, with the cowl, cincture and scapular) as the fathers. St. Benedict, attentive more to principles than externals, prescribed uniformity and economy, but no particular colour in dress. Ancient pictures and, indeed, many of more modern Art represent his monks entirely in white, though after the year 900, says Mabillon, black became the distinguishing dress of Benedictines, who afterwards were popularly known by the title, « Black Monks. »

Among other excellent features in the rule of this great Saint (which, if more regarded, would have saved Italian Convents from much of the unpopularity they have suffered — often indeed undeservedly) is the manner in which it establishes on principle the dignity and duty of labour. « Idleness (it asserts) is the enemy of the soul — then only are they (the cloistral brethren) truly monks when they live by the labour of their own hands, as the Apostles were accustomed to do. » The library of this Monastery, though but the wreck of what it once was, is still well filled with theological literature, and contains the celebrated Bible long traditionally regarded as an offering from Charlemagne, but considered by Agincourt, from the character of its miniatures, of uncertain date, though evidently belonging to the IX century. This is a large volume, most carefully preserved, containing all the canonical books (though not in their order as now printed) preceded by the comments of St. Jerome. The calligraphy is beautifully delicate and clear, the letters small, many of the initials, placed in the midst of pages, interwoven with very graceful designs, and other illuminations carried round the margins, their variety of floral and leafy figures, richly gilt and tinted, on a ground of deep violet. At the

beginning are several miniature groups of scriptural subjects and from monastic annals, the Evangelists, each engaged in writing, and attended by his traditionary symbol — the Angel, Lion, Ox, and Eagle — figures displaying little knowledge of anatomy, the faces of doleful expression, but the draperies treated in better style; as to perspective, about the same correctness as common in Chinese designs. In a group representing the Ascension, the presence of the Almighty Father is indicated (as in many ancient mosaics) by a hand stretched out from the clouds to receive the Redeemer — in far more reverential taste than those offensively familiar groups of the Trinity now conspicuous in Italian churches. The portrait of an Emperor, at the beginning, cannot, in Agincourt's opinion, be named with certainty, though, if not Charlemagne, probably Louis the Bald — which supposition would assign, contrary to tradition, the gift itself to that Emperor. However this be, the high praises bestowed by the above named critic, and by Montfaucon, are not beyond the merits of this interesting relic. Standing in forlorn solitude on the Campagna, a conspicuous but externally very plain edifice, this Monastery contains however one of the most beautiful specimens of medieval architecture in its richly fantastic cloisters, raised at the and of the XII, or beginning of the XIII century. Nothing could be more graceful than those fairy colonnettes end arcades, with shafts spiral, fluted, and of every possible form, cornices, pillars and archivolts; adorned with inlaid marbles and mosaics, of richest variety. It is believed the whole construction (which has no parallel here except in the cloisters of the Lateran) may be ascribed to the Cosimati, a family who long maintained the best traditions of medieval art in Rome. The work was begun under the Abbot Peter II, (elected 1193) and finished under John V, his successor, as recorded in the quaint inscription, inlaid in gold, round the marble coraice of these cloisters, a speci-

men of Leonine verse beginning:

Agmina sacra regit locus hic quem splendor honorat
Hic studet atque legit monachorum coetus et orat.

Within the arcades, since 1757, has been formed a museum of epigraphs, Pagan and Christian, with some fragments of sculpture, the former in part illustrated by Bosio and Aringhi, and all transcribed by Nicolai. The heavy old grey walls above, and the garden, profuse in roses, enclosed within these cloisters, contribute to the tranquil beauty and antique solemnity of the consecrated scene, and lingering within these silent courts, one feels that « it is good to be here. »

Here, could one evoke the phantoms of the past, how many would appear in the long array of historic dead connected, by good or evil deeds, with this Monastery — Constantine, Theodosius, Honorius, Galla Placidia, Charlemagne and the Catholic kings of England! — St. Oddo, who, constrained by the higher clergy to quit the cell where he had dedicated himself to prayer and study, and assume one of the highest monastic offices as Abbot of Clugny, during the troublous X century, was employed by Popes and Sovereigns in affairs of the highest moment, spiritual as well as temporal — he it was who brought back to its ancient purity the rule af St. Benedict within these walls, and, dying, left his relics to Tours, where they lay till burnt and scattered to the winds by fanatic Hugonots — Hildebrand, Abbot of St. Paul's for 25 years, having retained that dignity after ascending the Papal Trone till his death (1084), who, when Prior of Clugny, moved by his eloquence the newly elected Pope, Leo IX, to lay aside every symbol of dignity, and travel from that Monastery, a bare footed pilgrim, to Rome, rather than perpetuate the abuse, finally abolished by Gregory's own firmness, of submitting Papal election to imperial sanction — who under six Pontificates, before being crowned with the tiara himself, was directing genius of the affairs of Rome and the Church,

through whose counsels, in an earlier stage of his career, was passed the decree confining Papal elections thenceforth exclusively to the Sacred College, instead of depending, as formerly, on other suffrages also-by whom was sustained the long, to himself disastrous, but finally triumphant struggle against Henry IV, for the independance of ecclesiastical appointments from the civil power (the great question, in fact, whether the Church should be chained to or freed from the State) — who, dying in exile at Salerno, after his stormy Pontificate, could say of himself with righteous calmness, « I have loved justice and hated iniquity; *therefore* I die in exile. » And to the last year of the same century belongs an heroic action for the delivery of this Basilica from imminent danger, that deserves remembrance. Stephen, chief of the Corsi family, had entered the fortification of Giovannopolis by false keys, at night, with armed followers, and set fire to the Church, but no sooner had the Pontiff, Pascal II, been informed than with a multitude of citizens he repaired in person to the rescue, and drove away the rebels, among whom Stephen escaped disguised as a monk; and in this instance certainly the military was allied to the sacerdotal character much more worthily than by such as Julius II. The restoration of the Ostian Basilica is among the great events of modern Rome; and if a government financially embarrassed has exposed itself to charges of imprudence by an undertaking of costs so enormous, one cannot but admire the superiority to utilitarian principles in regard to this sanctuary over an Apostle's tomb — a spot therefore of inalienable consecration to the sense of Christendom, for which sake, if ever, it may be felt that — high Heaven rejects the lore

Of nicely calculated less or more.

In and around Rome are thirteen churches to which properly belongs the title, « Basilica. » St. John Lateran, St. Peter's, St. Paul's, and S. Maria Maggiore are the « Patriarchal, »

highest among these, so called because assigned, by primitive arrangement, to the four great Patriarchs of the East and West. The Lateran, « chief and mother of all churches of the Catholic world, » formerly was residence, and is still the Cathedral of the Supreme Pontiff, Patriarch of the West; St. Peter's was assigned to the Patriarch of Constantinople, second only in dignity; St. Paul's to the Patriarch of Alexandria; St. Maria Maggiore (the Liberian Basilica) to that of Antioch; and sometimes was rekoned a fifth Patriarcal Basilica, St. Lorenzo, assigned to the Patriarch of Jerusalem. Thus did Rome assert herself not only the centre of Christian Unity, but the general place of meeting and sojourn to the great representatives of Catholic Hierarchy. As to the term Basilica, taken in its architectural sense, perhaps the clearest definition is that given by Crescimbini — a temple with at least three, if not five naves (or rather, a nave and so many aisles) the central broader and loftier than the lateral, with portals corresponding to these divisions, either three or five, transepts, a tribune beyond the high altar, and with proportions of breadth to length not less than 1/3 or more than 1/2. The prevailing style of the early Basilicas, and indeed that common to churches throughout the West, from the time of Constantine to that of Charlemagne, was the so-called Romanesque, preserved in Rome and other Italian cities long after the introduction of the new type, dating from Charlemagne, known by the general term « Gothic, » and eventually extending itself more or less over all Christian countries. *Gothic*, indeed, the latter can only be designated in a wide acceptation, allowed to apply to *all* the styles created by the northern nations who overthrew the Empire. From the time of Justinian dates a complete separation between the East and West, the former remaining the exclusive region of Byzantine, the latter of Romanesque Architecture; and, westward to the line of demarcation, the latter style extend-

ed itself over Italy, till at least the X or XI centuries, in Ravenna, Venice, Florence, Pisa; and in the south of France till the XII century (v. Fergusson, Handbook of Architecture).

The ceremony of consecration, 10th December 1854, attracted multitudes to the Ostian Basilica, and a new portal had been opened expressly in the ancient walls, near the Porta S. Paolo, through which only those engaged or privileged were permitted to pass. These complicated rites are performed, in great part, with closed doors, in the presence only of the officiating clergy and others admitted by special permission. The observances prescribed by the rubrics on the day previous to a consecration being peculiarly solemn, grand Vespers were sung, and vigil was kept in the basilica the whole night by the Benedictines of this monastery. In the aggregate were present 49 Cardinals, 140 Bishops and Archbishops, besides the Roman prelatic body, the Magistracy, the Benedictine Monks, and all usually assisting at the Papal *Cappella*. The rites for such occasion, in the « Pontificale, » are long and complicated, fraught with mystic meanings, expressed in beautiful orisons and symbolism.

Three times are the portals struck by the officiating Cardinal, or Bishop, with a crozier, and a deacon opens after responding within to the chant « Atollite portas principes vestras » etc. After the « Veni Creator » has been chanted, ashes are sprinkled, in the form of a St. Andrew's cross, along the pavement of the nave; and after several antiphons sung, the ceremony ensues which Pius IX himself performed this morning. The letters first of the Greek, then the Latin alphabet, are traced on the ashes, with the end of the crozier, each distinctly described on the transverse members of the pavement cross. Another procession then leaves the church carrying the relics for its several altars in an urn, on a *feretrum*, and passing round the outer walls with incense and Crucifix. On its return all assembled in the temporary porch,

prepared for the occasion in woodwork hung with scarlet draperies, to represent the atrium, yet unfinished, essential to a Basilica Cathedral; here, seated on a throne covered with silver tissue, his Holiness read a Latin homily, as prescribed by the Pontificale, after which a Cardinal officiating read two decrees of the Council of Trent, as prescribed by the Rubrics. The portals were then anointed with chrism; all entered from the atrium processionally, and the relics were carried to the altars, there to be solemnly deposited, after the receptacle to contain, and the slab to cover them had been anointed with chrism. The consecration of those altars at the extremities of the transepts, encrusted with the malachite and lapis lazzuli presented by the Czar Nicholas, was the next act of ceremonial, and the anointing of the gilt crosses, inserted at regular intervals in the walls, to which ascent was formed by scaffolding covered by crimson draperies, ensued, a certain number of these being blessed, with chrism, by the Holy Father, the rest by Cardinals assisting. It was not till after many had waited for three hours that the public were generally admitted, and the solemnities closed with celebration of Mass, at one of the newly consecrated altars, by a Cardinal Archbishop. For the first time was now seen the interior of this great Basilica, crowded to its utmost extent, and its nave, as at the Papal celebrations in St. Peter's, presenting long arrays of glittering arms and many coloured uniforms. Looking from the platform of the High Altar, the effect of that vast area, now densely thronged, of long colonnades dividing the four aisles and nave, white marble walls, colossal mosaics and Statues, underthe elaborately carved and profusely gilded ceiling, was beyond description magnificent.

To particularize the facts most relevant to the story of the Ostian Basilica, sufficient to observe that it was built by Theodosius, A. D. 386, on the site of a church raised by

Constantine over the Apostle's sepulchre — completed by Honorius, and restored, in the VIII century, by Pope Leo III; — that in all succeeding restorations the original plan had been mainly preserved, till the whole was destroyed by the conflagation in July 1823 — that, in compliance with the invitation of Leo XII, sums were contributed from all parts of Europe, and donations from various sovereigns, including the schismatic Nicholas and the Mohammedan Viceroy of Egypt — for the fartherance of the great Catholic object. Vastness of dimensions and wealth of material cannot fail of their effect; but, allowing all that may be claimed in praise, it must be owned that the Ostian Basilica has resulted in nothing else than a costly monument to the decline of Christian Art in Rome. More to be regretted still, it testifies to that narrowness of principle that allows favoritism, interest at high places, etc, successes which should be awarded on worthier grounds. If for any temple of modern times, assuredly *for this* should the artistic talent of all Europe have been invited to concur; yet, instead of such liberality, not a single forcigner has been engaged either for external or internal labour at St. Paul's. Such leaders in the highest school of restored Christian Art as Overbeck and Cornelius, resident for years (as both have been) in Rome, have neither contributed, nor been invited to do so; and because commissions had to be given to the long preferred and patronised of a Court, the architects (Professor Belli and his successor Professor Poletti) have been allowed to create an edifice which, as to its exterior at least, can only excite the amazement of future ages by its unqualified ugliness and meaningless vulgarity. Had the type of the ancient Basilica been strictly followed, defects might claim indulgence out of regard for their origin; but here is neither the taste of the cultivated renaissance nor the spirit of antiquity. The architect Poletti having been so obliging as to show and explain to me his design,

not accepted by the directing Committee of Cardinals and artists, for the façade on the side towards the river, I was embarrassed by the fear of betraying the impression made upon me by a project for a great church that raised only ideas of the theatre or club-house. Whatever was rejected, the conception adopted and carried out would scarcely be considered; in some countries, up to the level of merits requisite for the railway-station. It is at least four years since the costs for this restoration had reached between two and three million scudi, after the regular assignment of 50,000 per annum; and as if no embarrassments had taught prudence to Rome, expences quite un necessary have been incurred, as for the incrustation in marble of the atties, soon taken down to give place to the frescoes illustrating Apostolic story; and an anomalous Campanile, totally departing from the antique type of the venerable Basilica tower with its cornices and numerous arched windows, has absorbed 120,000 scudi. For the façade, indeed, has been adopted an appropriate design by Agricola, to be copied in a great mosaic over the portico, representing, as in beatific vision, the Saviour amidst Archangels, Seraphs, Evangelists, Apostles. *Here* should have been erected the Campanile, instead of at the opposite extremity; though, indeed, Nicolai shows that the front of the primitive Basilica was at that side, giving entrance from the East instead of the West.

But, notwithstanding all defects and misconceptions, the impression received on entering this Basilica is never to be forgotten; and that must be a cold mind that can remain unmoved by its resplendant majesty, its grandeur of long-drawn perspective, and accumulations of superb adornment. « Tis a proud vision, that most regal pile», as presented at once to view from the great western portal, with its forest of pillars, nave and four aisles, mosaic encrusted apse and magnificently over-canopied high altar. Of the antiquities

preserved from the flames most valuable, to archaeology ot least, is the large mosaic over the chancel-arch, of the V century, an offering from Galla Placidia in the time of Honorius. This colossal work, the half-figure of the Saviour in act of blessing, the four-and-twenty Elders worshipping with crowns in their hands, the symbols of the Evangelists, and SS. Peter and Paul (at lower level sach side the arch) is in style barbarous, almost grotesque, austerity and gloom distinguishing the countenance of the Redeemer, without any attempt at that divine benignity ar mournful beauty which later Art aimed at in this subject. The Greek school it belongs to, indeed, in every instance, expresses the ascetic severity that invests Christianity with attributes to terrify or overwhelm, rarely with those that console or reassure.

Few mosaics remain in Rome, except the elaborate series on the attics of S. Maria Maggiore, approaching to these of St. Paul's in antiquity. This form of art, originating in the gorgeous Alexandrian epoch, was first introduced into churches in the IV century, after being long only employed to decorate pavements. The earliest Christian mosaics (and the only specimen extant of that century) are at the sepulchral church of S. Costanza on the Nomentan Way. The invention of mosaic in smalt (instead of marble) is attributed by some writers (as Ciampini) to the Persians, through whom it is supposed to have passed to the Assyrians, thence to the Greeks, and finally to the Romans, among whom it soon became conspicuous. Pliny tells as that mosaic work had recently (in his time) passed from the pavements to the ceilings of Roman palaces, and had since then been made of vitrified substances, capable of expressing every colour. But the earliest specimens from antiquity are purely decorative, without figures, except in small pieces, such as the wall pictures of Pompeii, and the larger compositions for pavement found in the Baths of Caracalla and elsewhere. Kugler concludes, that « histo-

rical mosaic painting of the grander scale first started into life in the course of the IV century, and suddenly took its wide spread.

Under the lower Empire it seems that Greek artists alone were engaged on such works, and, hence the term given to mosaics formerly, *opus Graecum*. The Iconoclast persecution brought many mosaicists, with other artists, to seek refuge in Italy, and under Papal protection. But earlier than that period were executed here, first in the year 424, some mosaics at Sabina; in 441 these before us at St. Paul's, and in 443 the unique series at S. Maria Maggiore. The VI century produced those considered the finest of Christian Rome, in the apse of SS. *Cosmo e Damiano* (526-30). A transition style, but still with expression and vigour, is perceived in the mosaics of the VII century at the Lateran Baptistery, *S. Agnese* beyond the walls, *S. Stefano Rotondo*, and in the singular figure of St. Sebastian at *S. Pietro in Vincoli*. Most admirable among all in Rome of the IX century, are those at *S. Prassede*; and that epoch is also represented at *S. Maria in Domnica*, *S. Cecilia*, *S. Marco*, and *S. Francesca Romana*. With the XII century appears the incipient decline of this art, though still capable of beautiful production, as evinced at *S. Clemente*, *S. Maria in Trastevere*, and here, in the apse, at St. Paul's. Then followed the total degradation of the mosaic, evident in the examples at *S. Lorenzo* beyond the walls (on the portico) and at S. Costanza, in two recesses off the circular aisle. Cotemporary with Cimabue rose a new school of far higher character, securing to the Mosaic participation in the destinies of revived Art, and most strikingly exemplified, in Rome, by the works in the tribunes of the Lateran and S. Maria Maggiore. The marvellous perfection to which the mosaic is now carried at Rome, as first displayed in the faultless copies from great masters at St. Peter's, may be dated from the XVII century.

The mosaic heads of Popes, at St. Paul's, occupy the place of a similar series in fresco, begun under Leo I, continued, in the VI century by St. Symmacus, and, in modern times, by Benedict XIV and Pius VII. Beginning with St. Peter, in the transept, in the nave their chronologic order opens with Theodore I. (642), reaching the X. century in the series over the great portals, descending to the last centuries in the left, and terminating with Pius IX and his immediate predecessors in the right aisle. To what extent, is naturally asked, may these be regarded as authentic portraits? With *certainty* they can be considered such only from the XV century, as it was under Martin V, (1417 — 31) that the coining of commemorative medals, with effigies of the Popes, first became usage. True, the heads of Pontiffs on medals, of far earlier date, are extant for it was in the VIII century money began to be coined in their names, as temporal sovereigns; and several pieces struck with the papal effigy, preserved in the numismatic collection of the Vatican, bear date in the IX, some (as that of Adrian I, A. D. 772) in the VIII century; of the X, Sergius III, Anastasius III, and Marinus II; but the heads in these, in full not profile view, are of execution so barbarous that nothing approaching to individaul resemblance can be looked for in their features. Over the high altar is the Gothic canopy, with porphyry columns and sculptures in white marble (all preserved from the flames) executed by order of the Benedictine Abbot, in 1285, by Arnulfo, conjectured to be the same who raised the noble Cathedral of Florence. The erection, over this, of *another* canopy in style (modern Italian) totally contrasted with the ancient one, is, though the object in itself be splendid and the material costly, one of the greatest anomalies in architecture ever tolerated. Below this altar is the veritable sepulchre of the Apostle, and one can understand the Italian enthusiasm which attributes to miracle the preservation of this entire structure

with the recess below — the Sanctum Sanctorum of St. Paul's. Over the chancel-arch, within the transepts, are the remains of the mosaic, of the XIV century, originally on the western facade. In the apse is the great mosaic (restored to its former place after the fire) commenced, 1226, under Honorius III, representing the Saviour throned, a colossal figure of awful majesty, SS. Peter and Andrew standing on one side, SS. Paul and Luke on the other, the names of these Apostles inscribed vertically, and a palm tree between each; at the feet of the Saviour, kneeling, the figure, so small as to be easily overlooked, of Pope Honorius — according to the mode of signifying the humility of the donor, by diminution of the scale in which he is represented. Below is the series of symbolic figures, belonging to the same date, discovered in 1835, after remaining for centuries concealed by the bizarre modern architecture over an altar: in the centre, forming a zone to the apse, a jewelled Cross on a kind of altar sustainning also a chalice, and the instruments of the Passion; on each side a majestic Angel in long vestments, and below, at the left, the Abbot of St. Paul's — Gaetano Orsini, afterwards Pope as Nicholas III — at the right, Arnolfo, his sacristan, both worshipping; on each side stand the other Apostles, divided by palm-trees. External to the apse, on each side its archway, are mosaics formerly on the façade: the Madonna and Child enthroned, and St. John the Baptist, who holds a lamb, resting one hand on the head of a kneeling Pope, intended for John XXII, by whom these mosaics were ordered, in the XIV century. One may regret that paintings of no higher order than the *Assumption* by Agricola, the *Conversion of St. Paul* by Camuccini, should conspicuously hang over altars the most splendid in any modern church. But the colossal statues, lateral to the pictures, — Saints Benedict and Scolastica (his sister) by Baini; St. Gregory I by Laboureur, St. Bernard by Stocchi, have dignity.

and character. Of the chapels the most beautiful is that of St. Benedict, whose gilded vault, colored marbles, and colonnades of slight shafts raised on a podium, present effect at once of grace and solemnity, much enhanced by the colossal statue of St. Benedict, seated above the altar — a noble work by Tenerani, embodying the high ideal of its saintly subject, who appears like the benign personification of ancient wisdom, the Genius of religious solitude. Nothing in the idea of the philosophic personality in Pagan art (though finely conveyed in the Demosthenes, the Aristides, and many busts at the Capitol) at all corresponds to, or equals this conception of the Christian patriarch. In the chapel of the Holy Sacrament is the ancient Crucifix of wood, which tradition celebrates as having bowed its head and *spoken* to St. Brigida! The chapel of St. Stephen, rich in marbles, with pilasters of Oriental granite on a basement of African *breccia*, and walls encrusted with *lumachella*, contains the statue of St. Stephen by Rinaldi, and two pointings by living artists of repute, the condemnation of the Protomartyr, and his death — the former by Coghetti, displaying (as it strikes me) the worst, the latter, by Podesti, the best characteristics of modern Roman Art. Some other ancient mosaics, and a series of frescoes, including the Crucifixion and several saints, also saved from the conflagration, are preserved in the vestibule and ancient chapter, between the transepts and the beautiful old cloisters. Here also is another statue by Rinaldi (the veteran pupil of Canova), Gregory XVI, a colossal seated figure, and over an altar where it is very imperfectly seen, the only work by an English hand in these buildings, the Apocalyptic vision of the Woman and Child saved from the Dragon, a picture by Severn that displays power and imagination, entitling it to far more favorable location. The series of large frescoes carried round the attics, illustrating the lives of SS. Peter and Paul, by Gagliardi, Balbi,

Costa, Coghetti and others, may be observed as products of Roman Art, showing the best its capacities attain at the present day; but that *here* is any manifestation of such high conception as distinguishes the schools of Germany, will scarcely be the impression received by the least experienced. In *sculpture* certainly St. Paul's contains works that do honour to modern Italy — in painting, little.

Rarely is any great concourse of worshippers collected at St. Paul's, and this immense Basilica stands amidst a pestilential region abandoned, for the most part, to mournful solitude, except on the Sunday evenings, when crowds of citizens usually make this their favorite expedition by the omnibuses then running. But the festival of the Apostle it is dedicated to, if less magnificent, is perhaps more solemnly beautiful and devotional than that of St. Peter on the day previous; and deeply interesting is it to trace the footsteps of the two Apostles in connection with the several churches, more or less monuments to their story, where the rites are daily held within the octave from the 29th June; more interesting still, in dwelling on the memory of Him who was the inspired Doctor of the Gentiles, to observe how the spirit of his teaching reflects itself in the worship peculiarly associated, at this period, with his revered name. The High Mass at which the Pontiff, the Cardinals and chief Prelacy assist, assembled together with the Benedictine family around that resplendant altar over his tomb, and, in the evening, the solemn Vespers by that monastic brotherhood with their Abbot pontificating, form, within such a framework of architecture, a series among the most picturesque of the Christian year in Rome. The exposition of the chains of the Apostle may excite objections form the sceptical, but is of much effect on the people, who kneel in numbers round the altar to kiss them. Till late this evening Confraternities continue to visit the holy spot; and their long processions, with torch, and cross and banner, as they

return in the gleaming, past the pyramid of Cestius, the turreted walls and round towers of Belisarius's gateway, form a striking feature in one of those pictures presented by what is most beautiful in the worship of the Church at Rome, that may linger pleasingly in memory « long after it is seen no more. »

The residence of the Benedictines in town, during the time the summer heats oblige them to leave St. Paul's, is S. Calisto, one of the largest Monasteries in Rome, formerly the palace of Cardinal Moroni, assigned to this Order by Paul V, when, for the enlargement of the new Papal Palace on the Quirinal, it was determined to destroy a house belonging to these monks, on that site. The palace thus converted into a Monastery was entirely rebuilt, with the handsome façade in modern Italian style (severely criticised indeed by Militia) that flanks one side of the piazza before the Trastevere Basilica: spacious and commodious, the apartments of the monks large, though plain and simply furnished the corridors long and lofty. A small church, alike modern, is only remarkable for its ancient well, the identical one into which Pope St. Calixtus was thrown, after suffering imprisonment and torture, under Alexander Severus. From an extensive court behind the Monastery is a beautiful view of the Janiculum, crowned by S. Pietro in Montorio, villas, gardens, and the fortifications restored since the late siege. But dark and tragic associations attach to this quiet spot, for it was here that, in the Republic of '48-9, several ecclesiastics were assassinated in cold blood by the myrmidons of revolution, the *Finanze Guard*, who had taken possession of this monastery, and rendered it, by their deeds, the *Carmes* of revolutionary story in Rome. The evidence, in the proceedings before the *Sacra Consulta*, relative to these assassinations was of details most revolting in atrocity, the deliberate murders of ten priests being legally proved and brought home to several ac-

complices on trial, though this was not the total number of victims believed to have perished within these walls. Though several were tried, not more than three criminals, who suffered by the guillotine 1854, expiated by death the crimes perpetrated at St. Calisto.

S. Benedetto in Piscinola, near the Ponte di S. Bartolommeo in Trastevere, though attached to no Monastery, should be included among monuments in Rome connected with this celebrated Order. It is an interesting, though small church, of of high antiquity, mentioned by its present name (derived from some *piscina* anciently in this neigbourhood) early as the 12th century; and, according to tradition, on the site of the mansion inhabited by St. Benedict previously to his retirement at Subiaco. Externally, a small campanile with a spire is its only medieval feature. An atrium, supported by antique columns, communicates with a chapel, divided off by a grated doorway, whose architecture resembles that of the « Holy Column » Chapel at S. Prasede — the same peculiarly vaulted ceiling, with slight shafts at the angles. Over the altar here is a picture of the Virgin and Child, said to be that before which St. Benedict used to pray; but the expression and delicacy of features seem to refer it to an epoch of more advanced Art. Off this chapel, through a low door, is entered a long dark cell, scarcely 2 feet wide, with vaulted roof and walls of unhewn stones, which we are informed by the Custode was the sleeping chamber of the Saint. A small recess in the wall is the spot where, we are told, he used to lay his head for repose. The church consists of a nave and aisles, divided by columns, evidently antique, of marble and granite different in proportions and style, sustaining an attic, with flat ceiling carved and gilt. Over the high altar is a picture full-length of St. Benedict, which Mabillon (Iter Italicum») inclined to consider a genuine cotemporary portrait — though Nibby and others crities suppose it less an-

cient — the figure against a background of gold, seated on a chair with Gothic carvings, such as were commonly in use in the 12th century: the black cowl of the monastic habit drawn over the head; the hair and beard white; the aspect serious and thoughtful, in one hand a crozier, in the other the book of Rules drawn up for his Order, displaying the words: *Ausculta fili precepta magistri*. On the wall near is a fresco of the Virgin and Child evidently of very early Art. Though little noticed, nor among those wealthy in art and ornament, there is character of olden solemnity that gives interest to this little church, now under the patronage of the Massimi family, who have opened here a school for gratuitious teaching.

In early Art, St. Benedict appears more frequently in white than in black vestments, but later, almost invariably in black, often with the mitre and crozier, and sometimes holding a bundle of small rods, to signify the discipline he enforced. The subject of his blessing the poisoned cup, and thereby detecting the treachery of the monks, is a favorite scene from his story; often is he seen praying in the cavern at Subiaco, whilst the hermit, who there administered to his wants, lets down a basket of bread from the rocks above. His colossal statue at St. Peter's is attended by a raven with a loaf in its beak, allusive to another version of the story of snares against his life, according to which, when poisoned bread was presented to him, he gave it to the tame raven that used to feed from his hand, which bird by its cries and gestures intimated the danger, refusing, till the saint gave a blessing, to touch the loaf, but then flying away with it, to deposit it in some place beyond reach! The Saint is often accompanied by his sister St. Scholastica, foundress of the Benedectine Nuns, usually of dignified and noble aspect, in the black habit and white veil of her order, her attendant symbol being a dove, under which form Benedict is said to have seen her

soul ascending to Heaven, the night of her death at the monastery she presided over, near his own on the mountain of Subiaco. Their last interview, that night, when he remained long conversing with her on holy things, is an affecting subject often treated by Art. Guido has beautifully conveyed not only the character of the Saint, but the influences that proceeded from him, in a large picture (at Bologna) where seated, in white robes, at the door of his cell among the mountains, we see him surrounded by peasants who press forward with their offerings, from the field, the farm and vintage, vying with each other to present these tributes of simple-minded piety and reverential regard — a picture that seems fraught with prophesies of a future extending over ages, with its influences to sanctify and civilize!

Confronted with recent political movements, the Benedictines, as far as opportunity has allowed any demonstration consistent with their respected position and character, have pronounced in favour of liberal principles — as eloquently expressed by father Tosti, in his «History of the Lombardic League» (see the introduction to that spirited work) published at an early period of the movements after the election of Pius IX. For this tendancy they have had to suffer under the government that has most ostentatiously hung out the banners of Religion, whilst trampling on holiest principles of Justice, and never scrupling to persecute the ministers of the altar when convenient to the purposes of its police. I have known a Benedictine of talents, and distinguished in the pulpit, who had spent some time in prison at Naples, and afterwards was sent into perpetual exile, simply for having expressed sympathies with the constitutional cause in '48. It is the misfortune of their great sanctuary, Monte Cassino, to be placed within Neapolitan territory. Till of late that establishment had its own press, that worthily sustained the traditions of those renowed cloisters, as centre of learning and

art, From that press was issued some publication of patriotic sense in reference to the interests of Italian nationality, about the beginning of '47, and the consequence was, absolute suppression; nor have ancient privileges been restored to that sanctuary under Neapolitan sway.

Camaldulese

« Camaldulese, » originally the name proper to the Hermits of Camaldoli in Tuscany, became subsequently a term extended to all following the same, or modifications of the same rule. That primitive company of solitaries was formed either at the end of the X, or early in the XI century, by St Romuald, on an estate among the Apennines bestowed on them by a proprietor named Maldoli (the field of Maldoli, *Campus Malduli*) whence the name given to their Order. Romuald, a noble youth of the ancient family of Onesti, descended, from the Dukes of Ravenna, was moved to retire into the cloister, by the impression received at seeing a relative slain in a duel by his own father. Having first entered the Monastery of Classe near Ravenna, and afterwards travelled into Hungary, in the desire of teaching and suffering for the faith, he returned to found, during his life, no fewer than 100 Benedictine houses, after having reformed the degenerate discipline of many others. In the solitude of Camaldoli he beheld, in a vision, his followers ascending to Heaven by an aerial ladder, like that in the dream of Jacob, and instead of black, the Benedictine habit, wearing white vestments, in consequence of which he prescribed this colour to his Cenobites (1). From Camaldoli he passed to found other communities, in Tuscany, Umbria, and the Mar-

(1) Represented in one of the most admired pictures at the Vatican, by Andrea del Sacchi.

ches of Ancona, labouring in that mission till he reached Camerino, where, in one of the houses of his followers, he died, according to his biographer St. Pater Damian (contratradicted, however, by the Bollandists and others) at the venerable-age of 120 (1027), after living 97 years as an eremite! Only five years subsequently his memory received the honours of the altar, through beatification by John XX, and in 1595, he was canonised by Clement VIII. In time this Order divided itself into Monks (living, like other Benedictines, in community) and Hermits, still under the same rule, electing their common superiors alternately. This continued till 1606, when Paul V separated the two, leaving them, however, united under the government of one Abbot General, though the Hermits and Monks have severally their immediate superiors, called *Maggiore*. Many Camaldulese have taught from cathedra in Universities, many have been raised to high rank, notwithstanding the seclusion to which they are dedicated. In observance of their rule they are peculiarly strict, and generally esteemed for their devotion to its spirit, which, in the eremite Coggregations, retains quite the austerity of the ancient solitaries, perpetual silence, total abandonment of self, midnight vigils and fasting. Among the distinguished in theology and letters who have belonged to this Order, registered in the « *Annali Camaldulesi*, » we find Malermi, the first translator of the Bible into Italian, (printed at Venice 1471), St. Peter Damian, one of the most fervid and ascendant characters of the XI century, who being, with strong repugnance on his own part, created Bishop of Ostia and Cardinal, renounced both those dignities after one year, to return to his cloister, and who, by decree of Leo XII, in 1828 was ranked among the sainted Doctors of the Church. In recent times we find among the Camaldulese, Cardinal Zurla, General of the order and Vicar of Rome under three Popes, author of several esteemed works; Mauro Cappellaro, who

entered the Camaldulese order at Venice, became Abbot of St. Gregorio in Rome, afterwards Procurator and Vice General, and was raised to the Papal throne as Gregory XVI, also entitled to rank among the writers of this Order by his work on the triumphs of the Apostolic See. Of Camaldoli, it may be remembered, was that Guido de Arezzo, in the XI century, called the « father of modern music » for his invention of the diatonic scale with designations taken from the first syllables in the lines of a latin hymn (1), by which discovery was rendered attainable in a few weeks what formerly had required the study of years.

The church and Convent of SS. Andrew and Gregory, on the Caelian Hill, were conceded to the Camaldulese Monks in 1573.

Their community here is one of the many in Rome declined and now little conspicuous, comprising at present not more than ten professed fathers; but the Monastery, one of the largest, is cheerful, well kept, and commodious. The

(1) That for the festival of John the Baptist:

Ut queant laxis
Resonare fibris
Mira gestorum
Famuli tuorum,
Solve polluti
Labii reatum,
Sancte Johannes.

For the « ut » in the *Solfeggio* system, the Italians afterwards substitued « Do. » This was not the only musical reform by the Arezzo Monk, who has had the credit also of inventing the system of notation on parallel lines. Formerly the *canto fermo* (plain chant) was the only vocal music known : we therefore owe to Guido, and the patronage of a Pope who supported him against a host of enemies, the introduction into that world of feeling and expression realized by the genius of modern harmony.

Church, through a restoration by Ferrari, in 1734, has lost all character of antiquity; and one must regret that so uninteresting and theatrical an aspect should be presented by one of the sanctuaries of Rome richest in memories belonging to Christian antiquity, and in a situation so strikingly picturesque. Near the entrance is the armorial shield of the order, two doves drinking from a chalice, said by legends to have been adopted by divine inspiration shortly after the death of St. Romuald, as signifying union and strength. Since the election of Gregory XVI, this Camaldulese shield has been quartered with that of the Pontiff, and surmounted by the tiara. The ruins of the Palatine, seen from the stairs before this church, stand in the full majesty of their desolation. Just after sunset on a Summer evening, when the vast mouldering pile stands in rich sepia-tinted shadow against a sky of gorgeously blending hues, while the distant Aventine and Janiculum gleam pale and visionary beyond, the harmony of effects and associations is indeed perfect: much might be suggested here to moralists on the *sic transit gloria mundi*; but, after all, the evidence of that which *remains*, the divine and enduring, the contrasted ascendancy of the Cross in place of the Eagle, awakens thoughts beside which all other seem low and trivial. The modern cloisters, fronting the chief entrance so as to form an atrium, are surrounded by Ionic columns supporting an attic, of style little in keeping. They contain, however, many memorials from the earlier edifice. Within the archway, entering, we read, on a tablet, the names of the sainted Missionaries who set out from this Monastery, commissioned by St. Gregory, for the conversion of England; and the inscription closes with record of her who gave birth to that holy man, and her residence here —

Mater S. Silvia hoc maxime colenda quod tantum pietatis sapientiae et doctrinae lumen pepererit.

Near this are the epitaphs, almost biographies, of two Englishmen, who both died in exile, self-chosen, for the sake of that ancient faith whose suppression, under violence, they could not endure to witness; both of whom left their country, and prospects of brilliant careers,

> As men the dictates of whose inward sense
> Outweighs the world.

One of these monuments, almost without ornament, is to Robert Pecham, Knight of the golden Spur, who died 1567, and to whom the memorial was erected by his executors, Thomas, Goldwell, Bishop of St. Asaph, and Thomas Kirton: *Roberto Pecham Anglo, equite aurato, Philippi et Mariae Angliae et Hispan regibus olim a consiliis genere religione virtute praeclaro qui cum patriam suam a fede catholica deficientem adspicere sine summo dolore non posset, relictis omnibus qua in hac vita carissima esse solent, in voluntarium* profectus *exilium, post sex annis pauperibus Christi heredibus testamento institutis, sanctissime e vita migravit.*

The other, to one of rank and position almost alike, Edward Carne, Knight and Jurisconsult, deceased 1561, is still fuller in detail. — Several other monuments of the XVI and XVII centuries are placed here — one to a lady of the Cenci family, erected by her sons, dated 1592, and therefore shortly anterior to the dreadful catastrophe by which that family became extinct. The interior of this Church has little antique, save sixteen columns of granite and marble, appropriated from the former to the architecture of the present edifice, and a rich pavement of *opus Alexandrinum*. A picture of St. Gregory, in the chapel dedicated to him, by Badolacchi (of the Caracci school), and the death of St. Romuald, an affecting scene, by Fernandi, are its only remarkable paintings. So long as sanctity and moral greatness shall be revered, so long as it remains verified that « Heaven in our souls embalms the memory of the just » — must this Church

be one of earth's places of pilgrimage, consecrated to all Christian feeling by its connection with the birth and life of that Gregory, first Pontiff of his name, so justly styled « the Great. »

Born in 540, he was the son of Gordianus, a Senator, and Sylvia, a noble and pious matron of the Anicia family, then so powerful in Rome, from which the medieval house of Conti claimed descent. When little past the age of 30, he filled the office of Prefect or (according to some writers) Pretor of Rome, but after the death of his father, took religious vows and converted the family mansion into a Benedictine Monastery, dedicated to St. Andrew, of which he became Abbot, also founded, on his ample estates in Sicily, six Monasteries besides this on the Caelian Hill now called after him. Pope Palagius II, to whom he had been secretary, created him Cardinal deacon, and afterwards, Nuncio at Constantinople, where the Emperor treated him with confidence. A violent pestilence raged shortly after his return, to which Pelagius himself having fallen victim, the suffrages of the clergy, senate and people immediatly and unanimously designated Gregory as successor, but his resistance was long and earnest. He wrote to the Greek Emperor, Maurice, desiring his *veto* against the election, but this letter was intercepted, and another substituted, announcing the event as accomplished: he then concealed himself in the Church of SS. Cosmo and Damian, but was discovered (according to the legend) by a dove, with wings shedding rays of light, seen to hover above the building! At last, amidst the enthusiasm of the clergy and people, Gregory was led in triumph to St. Peter's, and consecrated Pope (590), in which capacity he survived to govern the Church 14 years.

A miserable spectacle was presented in Italy at the end of the VI century. Rome, as the city of Empire, might be considered now absolutely fallen; and indeed was merely the capital of a Duchy. On one hand were the barbarian in-

vaders who had repeatedly assailed and despoiled her — in the North, the ferocious Lombards, who had entered Italy led by Alboin; and on the other hand, a corrupt effeminate native population, towards whom the conquerors had actually applied and given prevalence to the name, « Roman, » as an epithet of contempt and ignominy! Rome remained, together with Ravenna, Padua, Cremona, Genoa, and Naples, subject to the Byzantine Emperor, who governed through an Exarch. Arianism was almost exclusively the creed of those northern invaders, Goths in Spain, Gauls in France and Lombards in Italy, whilst the Nestorian and Donatist heresies prevailed in Greece and Africa. Society was in a state of dissolution among the Italian races, still semi-Pagan, and convulsed by the shocks that precipitated the ancient Empire to ruin. An incredible corruption of manners had penetrated even into the Church. There were then Bishops so lost to all sense of their high duties as to spend their time and revenues in luxurious feasting, so shameless in their passions as to assail their enemies or rivals on the high ways; nuns who abandoned their convents to become the infamous associates of robbers, assisting to pillage the religious houses that had fostered them, and even to murder their former superiors at the foot of the altar! The Basilica of St. Peter, says an Italian historian, had become more like a hall of public amusements than a sanctuary (Denina, *Rivoluzioni*, Zoncada, *Vita di S. Gregorio Magno*, Dandolo, *Monachismo e Leggende*); and hence the secular power, naturally losing respect for the sacred character, condemned priests and bishops to imprisonment, to scourging, or death — for protection against which wrongs and reprisals it was that the Church now claimed the rights of asylum for all temples and retreats of religion. « No hope (says Denina) existed for the resurrection of the Roman world, still less for that of the barbarian — the first tended to a suffocating centraliza-

tion, the second to an exterminating desolation; but Deity, through the action of the Church, saved Humanity. — And for this great work, the regeneration of society and the Church, the man raised up, and endowed with qualities requisite, by Providence, was Gregory. » The acts of his Pontificate are among the brightest *fasti* of Christendom: unlimited in charities, unwearied in discharge of duty, he exemplified truly the principle in Christian government that he who is chief over all should be servant of all; and it was in opposition to the Patriarch of Constantinople, who claimed the title of universal Bishop, Gregory adopted the style, since followed by all Popes, «servant of the servants of God.» His ecclesiastical and charitable activity, his political measures would require many pages to record. He treated for peace with the Lombards, administered the vast patrimony he owned in Sicily, continually instructed the people by his discourses, enlarged and beautified the liturgy, reduced to the form since preserved the simple yet magnificent chant known as the *Gregorian*, founded schools for sacred music, and, whilst thus occupied in Rome, attended to the ecclesiastical affairs of all Christendom. One of the undertakings most illustrating his pontificate, was the mission to England and founding of the Metropolitan sees at York and Canterbury; and among the points of discipline enforced by him, though by no means a novelty of his introduction, was the celibacy of the clergy in the deaconal as well as higher orders, the strict observance of fasting in Lent, ec. Gregory's benevolence was not limited to Christian society alone; hearing that some Jews had been baptized by force, he expressly forbid such abuse, and when a synagogue had been violently taken from them, wrote to the Bishop responsible desiring it should be restored. Various are the observances of the Church still maintained as introduced by him — as the sprinkling of ashes on the first day of Lent, the commemoration of the five vir-

gin Martyrs in the Mass, the processions of the Purification and St. Mark's day, the festival of S. S. Peter and Paul, in its full solemnity at the Vatican. Neither infirm health nor overwhelming occupations lead him to desist from those literary labours, which have left behind, from his pen, numerous moral and theological treatises, — on the Books of Job and the Psalms, on the duties of Pastors, an *Antiphonarium* and *Sacramentarium*, for the reform and regulation of divine offices, a *Pastoralis*, (translated into English by Alfred the Great) and letters published in 14 books. — The temporal power of the Holy See, though not defined, became beyond doubt generally recognised as a high magistracy under St. Gregory; and its possessions, greatly increased by the estates added from his patrimony, became so vast that a modern writer does not hesitate to affirm, « the civil list of St. Gregory by far exceeded that of Pius IX. » Besides the Sicilian demesnes, he owned others of great extent in Africa, a district governed by a Roman patrician in Gaul, and, in Italy, territories that might have sufficed for a Princedom. Judges and other officials acted under his authority in Sardinia, Corsica, Liguria, the district of the Cottian Alps, Calabria, Apulia, and Dalmatia, as well as in Sicily, where were his principal estates. Of these ample means the use made by him was noblest. The poor of Rome were entirely supported, on a wiser and more enlightened system than the largesses of the Emperors, by his charities, applied through a regular system of supplying necessities by four general distributions annually, to all both of the city and its environs. Every Easter was seen the spectacle of this holy man dispensing his liberal bounties in person. Besides these largesses, he distributed, on the first of every month, a succour in kind, consisting of corn, wine, legumes, cheese, fish etc. to all in want; and every day caused the poor of each street to be relieved, by officials expressly appointed. Often were meats sent from

his own table to those sufferers witheld by shame from begging; and every day twevle poor men were fed at that table, waited on by the Pontiff himself. In the sensitiveness of his conscience, St. Gregory felt himself so responsible for the welfare of his people, that when a pauper had died of hunger in Rome, he did penance and abstained far some days from celebrating Mass, as though himself guilty for the life thus sacrificed. Beyond Rome his beneficence extended, not only over its envirous, but as far as Jerusalem, where he maintained a large hospital for pilgrims, as for as Mount Sinai, where immense communities of monks were nourished and clothed by him. By him were restored the Roman Basilicas, by him stipendiaried the forces enrolled to defend the City against the terrible Longobard assailants; and Latin slaves who had fallen into the hands of the invaders, were by him ransomed to be set at liberty. One of his most assiduous cares was the redemption of that oppressed class, whether fallen into slavery in war, or through the power of creditors, so that the principle of the Church towards a great social wrong was thus fully represented and vindicated by St. Gregory. Nor were the minutest affairs, the humblest claimants disregarded by him — for the truly enlarged mind opens itself to estimate all duties aright: we find him providing for his aged nurse, for blind paupers, for a condemned criminal, to whom he sends food and clothing, for a Bishop of narrow means whom he supplies with a winter dress; attending to such subjects as the prices of grain, the rearing of cattle, the transport of materials for building. A high placed magistrate had ordered some free citizens to be beaten; Gregory writes to him, remonstrating in moderate but nobly earnest language. The Papacy, personified in him, rose to an eminence commanding perhaps the highest respects that ever surrounded it, exercising the greatest moral influence it ever enjoyed, and this *before* its classifica-

tion among the governments of Earope, before it possessed army, police, or diplomatic ministers. Yet certain it is that St. Gregory held theories of his own dignity more modestly limited than those put forth by certain zealots (like the counselors of Lonis XVIII, more royalist than royalty) who, by ascribing to Catholicism principles irreconcileable with reason or history, inflict the greatest injury on her. The simple and intelligible doctrine of a headship, requisite to the consistency and combined action of an extensive Hierarchy, without mysterious claims to personal infallibility, seems to have been *all* entertained in regard to his own supremacy by this greatly virtuous Pontiff. Yet this gifted and good man is called by an English writer, « a holy barbarian »; and frequently has been repeated the charge against him that he caused the Vatican library to be burnt, a calumny resting on the sole authority of John of Salisbury, who lived about six centuries after St. Gregory. On the same authority is brought forward the story that he banished mathematicians from his court, but the very words of the writer cited to prove, invalidate this accusation: *Mathesin jussit ab aula decedere, qua celestium mentem et superiorum oracula videbantur revelare* — under the term « Mathesin » being understood *astrology*, naturally the object of condemnation, with no allusion to any other science.

Who would not regard with veneration the relics of such a man! And this church, otherwise left in possession of so little belonging to antiquity by modern restorers, contains memorials of St. Gregory whose authenticity cannot be questioned. A chapel off the right aisle (gilt and decorated in bad taste) marks the spot where the Saint, in his cell, frequently spent the night on no other couch than a slab of marble, still preserved behind a grating. Here also is the marble chair used as his episcopal throne, and now so worn by time that the figures of fabulous animals, carved on it,

can scarcely be traced. In the contiguous chapel, below the picture of St. Gregory, is an altar with marble reliefs of the XV century, illustrating legends of his story, which, though highly finished, betray almost barbaric deficiencies in design. The central refers to a legend become a popular subject of art in that century — a vision of the Saviour, above the altar whilst Gregory is celebrating, vouchsafed to dispel the seepticism of one who doubted the Real Presence: the figure of the Saviour, with blood streaming from the side, descending towards the altar at the moment of consecration. In lateral compartments is represented the liberation of souls from Purgatory through Gregory's intercessions at the altar — which, in all these reliefs, resembles a narrow reading — desk rather than the magnificent elevations in modern churches. In these mystic groupings is observed duplication of the same figure, the same soul represented below in the flames of Purgatory, and above ascending to Beatitude. This last illustrates a story, full of significance, given in the « Legenda Aurea: » — Gregory walking one day in the Forum of Trajan, was meditating on an anecdote of that Emperor, his turning back, when at the head of his legions on his way to battle, to render justice to a poor widow, who flung herself at his horse's feet, demanding vengeance for the innocent blood of her son, slain by the son of the Emperor. It seemed to Gregory that the soul of an Emperor so good, though Pagan, could not be condemned for ever; and he prayed for him, till a voice declared that Trajan was saved through his intercession. This story of Imperial justice is introduced by Dante in the X book of the *Purgatorio*; and the Poet's acceptance of the whole legend is evinced by his placing the soul of Trajan, between David and Hezekiah, among the blessed (*Paradiso XX.*) The feeling of the early Church is strikingly illustrated by it.

Off the left aisle of the church is entered a large chapel,

modernised in 1600, by the architect Maderno, for Cardinal Salviati and his family, where a deep niche, formed within the thickness of the walls, contains an ancient fresco of the Virgin and Child, said to have *spoken* to St. Gregory, by one of those favourite legends of the Middle ages attaching to not a few old paintings and Crucifixes in Rome.

Leaving the church, we pass through a garden to three chapels, the central of which occupies the site of that dedicated by St. Gregory to the Apostle Andrew. In their present state these buildings are of the 16th century, restored by the great historian, Cardinal Baronius, and now rather neglected, nor with any characteristic, save simplicity, to admire. The central contains the celebrated frescoes executed in competition, by Guido and Domenichino, both illustrating the martyrdom of the Apostle to whom the chapel is dedicated. The flagellation (by Domenichino) is a picture of great power, but unfortunately injured by the effects of time or damp, and not improved by the restorations of Maratta. St. Andrew on his way to Crucifixion, led by Roman soldiers, is treated by Guido, not, in the opinion of most critics with success equal to his rival's. Yet must there be recognised a grand and poetic idea in this latter picture; the aged martyr, falling on his knees to adore when coming in sight of the Cross he hails as the symbol of Salvation, is finely conceived; the stern indifference of the soldiers, and the half surprised expression of the females in the foreground, give the scene a dramatic effect, with which the wild beauty of the sylvan landscape is in harmony. A lofty interest seems embodied in the figure of that feeble sufferer, but utterly unintelligible to those around him.

Of the two chapels lateral to this, one dedicated to St. Sylvia, mother of St. Gregory, contains, over the altar, a statue of her (heroic size) by Niccolo Cordieri, executed under the direction of Michel Angelo — an expressive and dignified

figure, in whose countenance, though advanced age is represented, are remains of beauty with traces of sorrow. Within the recess of the tribune Guido, employed by Cardinal Borghese, painted a vision of the Eternal Father with a company of Angels playing various instruments — beautiful, child like yet heavenly beings, imagined with all this artist's feeling and sweetness in embodying such subjects. In the third chapel, dedicated to St, Barbara, is a statue of St. Gregory enthroned and crowned, by Cordieri, directed in this work also by Buonarrotti, and evidently following the tradition that describes to us the Saint's actual appearance — tall, robust, and inclined to corpulence, of full face and dark hair, without beard (1). In the midst stands the identical table on which the holy man used to feed 12 poor every day, and on which the Romans have a pious custom of leaving offerings in money for Masses, usually untouched till they have accumulated for several months. Around the walls are frescoes by Viviano, that illustrate acts in the life of St. Gregory, interesting from their subjects, but mediocre in art. One is the banquet given to the 12 poor, at which appears the thirteenth who proved to be an Angel — or, according to one version of the legend, a vision of the Redeemer himself. « I am the poor man whom thou didst formerly relieve (are the words recorded); but my name is the Wonderful, and through me thou shalt obtain whatever thou shalt ask from God — » the allusion in this announcment of the mysterious guest being to the case of a beggar, who who had applied for alms at the Monastery, and as the charitable Saint had nothing

(1) « St. Gregory presented to this Monastery his own portrait with those of his father and mother, which were still in existence 300 years after his death; and the portrait of himself probably furnished that peculiar type of physiognomy we trace in all the best representations of him.» Mrs Jameson, Sacred and Legendary Art.

left to bestow, received from him a silver porringer his mother had given to Gregory (1). It is an unfortunate mistake of the painter, lowering the moral effect of this subject, to represent him seated on his throne, assisting in state, instead of waiting in lowly charity upon his guests. Another scene recalls associations connected with this Monastery more glorious than all the Caesars' conquests — Ethelbert receiving the missionaries sent by Gregory to convert England. « The king of the Saxons (says Lingard) received them under an oak, in an open field, at the suggestion of his priests, who had told him that in such a situation the spells of foreign magicians would lose their influence. At the appointed time Augustine was introduced to the king. Before him was borne a silver cross, and a banner representing the Redeemer; behind him his companions walked in procession; and the air resounded with the anthems they sang in alternate choirs. » This mission had been suggested to Gregory by the sight of the beautiful Saxon slaves exposed for sale in the Forum; enquiring as to whose nationality, he exclaimed, *Non Angli, sed Angeli si fuerint Christiani.* The « Sovereign of Britain, » (*Bretwalda*) as Ethelbert styled himself, was not totally ignorant of Christianity, his wife Bertha, daughter of Charibert, king of Paris, having been baptized, and openly practising her religion at his Court, with her chaplain who daily officiated at the altar. Nor was it at this epoch that the Church was first founded in England. Another Pontiff, Eleutherius, who filled the chair of St. Peter from 177 to 194, had preceded Gregory in that work left to be accomplished, but not be-

(1) Whether only a beautiful allegory suggested by the Apostle's recommendation to hospitality, as « thereby many have entertained Angels unawares, » or something more, this legend has its testimony to the present day in the selecting of *thirteen*, instead of 12 priests, to be washed and waited on at table by the Pope, on Holy Thursday.

gun. We are told by venerable Bede that « Lucius, king of the Britons, sent a letter to the Pope entreating him that, by his command, he might be instructed to become a Christian. He soon obtained his request, and the Britons preserved the faith which they had received uncorrupted and entire, in peace and tranquillity, until the time of the Emperor Diocletian. » British Prelates assisted at the Council of Arles, in 314, and at that of Sardica in 347. But the light of Christianity seems to have been almost extinguished in England by the Saxon invaders, who, after they had oppressed and betrayed those they had sworn to defend, substituted for the religion of truth the idol-worship of Thor and Woden. Gildas, a British monk and witness of the disastrous revolution, says, « the Saxons fired the churches, murdered the inhabitants, and destroyed, as far as was possible, every vestige of Christianity. » The audience granted to the mission of Augustine took place in the Autumn of 596, on the isle of Thanet. Ethelbert received them graciously, and, without at once adopting their doctrines, gave them permission to preach and convert, whilst providing for their residence in Canterbury, his Capital. Not long afterwards Ethelbert became a Christian; his subjects, struck by the example, deserted the temples of Heathenism, and at the Christmass following, 10,000 Saxons were baptized.

At Canterbury, in the first Benedictine Monastery of England, St. Peter's, the rule of St. Benedict was established in its strictest observance; and the annals of that celebrated Order remain long interwoven with the history of the British Church. From St. Peter's it extended itself to the other great sanctuaries successively reared — Glastonbury, St. Alban's, Malmesbury, Croyland. It was in Benedictine cloisters that the Venerable Bede, St. Adelm, and other revered teachers gave instruction to English youth, without distinction between lay and clerical students. Discipline and zeal declined, indeed,

in after ages; and William of Malmesbury attributes the ravages of the Danes, particularly their devastating outrages against sacred establishments, to the disorders of the monks, the neglect of science and discipline in those former centres of learning. But in the X century, amidst the anarchy and gloom that overpread Christian Europe, even then a brighter spot lights the picture of English Monachism, for thus early was undertaken a reform, it seems intelligently and earnestly, the superiors of the French Benedictines having selected Abbon, an esteemed monk of Fleury, to set out from that monastery, with the original rule, for the British shores, charged to carry out a revival of the spirit of St. Benedict, of sound studies, science and literature in the cloisters (v. Mabillon, « Etudes Monastiques. »)

The education in those English cloisters was undoubtedly the best that the age could conceive or aspire to. There St. Boniface studied grammar (or, we might say, philology) rhetoric, poetry, history, and (what was above all inculcated in the minds of ecclesiastical pupils) the sacred scriptures. Subsequently becoming the Apostle and Primate of Germany, that great English Saint introduced in the latter country, at the Abbeys of Fulda and Fritislard founded by himself, a system of association for study called *academy*, which was adopted in other monasteries instituted on the norma of those parent establishments — Fleury, St. Gall, Bec, Reichenau, etc; and it was over one such academy that successively presided two great theologians destined both to fill the Primaey of England, Lanfranc and St. Anselm. In all those monasteries were maintained, at the same time, schools more regularly disciplined, one internal for the inmates, one external for strangers. To the Cloister the obligations of English History are specially marked, so much so that its superior wealth of material, as compared with that of other lands, is justly ascribed, by Mabillon and other writers, to

the services of monastics who spent years in their quiet unrewarded labours for the benefit of ages to come. In each Benedictine Abbey classed as *royal*, it was customary to depute some competent writer to record cotemporary events of whatever interest, and at the end of each reign, to present these compilations to the General Chapter, which ordered their reduction into more systematized form, to be preserved in the Archives. Marsham, a Protestant, says that without the aid of the monks we should know nothing of English History. (1)

Almost abandoned to solitude is the church of St. Gregory; its pulpit silent, its rites thinly attended; and, amid my own reminiscences, one only occasion of peculiarly impressive celebration has drawn a multitude here — it was when Cardinal Wiseman, with great splendour of ritual, consecrated the mitred Abbot of the English Cistercians, and Dr Manning preached with eloquent ability on the position and prospects of Catholicism in that country.

Jeronymites

The Hermits, formerly scattered over Spain and Italy, who in the XIV century first united themselves in a congregation as a regular religious society, formed the lowly origin, singularly contrasted with the magnificence of results, to an Order eventually one of the most splendid, wealthy

(1) Ohne den Orden Benedicts wäre vielleicht der grösser Theil der Schriften des Alterthums für uns verlohren; und wenn es auf heilige Aebte, Bischöfe, Cardinäle, und Pabste ankommt; so füllet die zahl derer, die aus ihm hervorgegon sind, mit dem, was sie veranstalteten, selbst eine Bibliothek. Der einzige GREGOR DER GROSSE, ein Benedicter, that mehr als zehn geist-und welthiche Regenten thun konnten. HERDER.

thy, and munificent in southern Europe. Whether it was, that, while adopting the rule of St. Augustine, they took St. Jerome for their patron and protector, or had really fashioned their rule upon precepts culled from his writings, the name of the latter sainted Doctor has continually remained attached to this institution, thongh in no sense founded by the recluse of Bethlehem himself. Supporting themselves entirely by the labour of their hands, those hermits, now become cenobites, made it a principle object to assist others also, poorer than they, by the fruits of that labour; originally they took no vows — as, indeed, the principal of perpetual obligation to the monastic state was not adopted generally in the earlier phases of eloistral societies; nor was it till the XVI century that the Jeronymites were required by the Pope, Pius V, to submit to those ties under solemn, that is, perpetually binding vows. Their first general chapter was held at their chief sanctuary in Spain, « Our Lady of Guadaloupe, » in 1415, with assistance ot 25 Priors; and the superior of that house being then elected General, that office, for governing the whole Order, was thenceforth united with the Guadaloupe Priorate. All that the imagination is accustomed to pieture of magnificence and regal charities, in the medieval monastery, was presented by the realities of this great Jeronymite centre in Spain. It maintained 150 monks, and 40 clerical students; attached to it were two hospitals for male and female patients, the former served by 40 laybrothers, the latter by as many Oblate sisters aggregated to the Order; public lectures on Medicine and Surgery were given in those cloisters; all pilgrims were entertained gratuitously for three days, sometimes 2000 being the number, thus harboured, at the same time; every year were distributed, in alms at the gates, 200 sheep, and a quantity of food and clothing, besides the charity rather singularly appropriated to the Nativity of the Virgin, of distributing

800 pairs of shoes! The other great Jeronymite Monastery of the Escurial, did not equal in revenues but surpassed in splendour that of Guadaloupe, more than 5 million ducats bawing been spent by King Philip in building and enriching it. That vast Monastery comprised 17 cloisters, and together with more than 100 monks, resided 180 ecclesiastical students dedicated to the pursuits of Humanity and Philosophy. We read of the priceless treasures of its sanctuary — its tabernacle worth more than 2 million ducats, where the Host, in a vase of agate, was visible through a covering of transparent gems; its sacred vessels, among which was a ciborium of a single sapphire wreathed with pearls; its choir with stalls of exquisitely carved Indian wood, containing 116 choral books for office; its library which, before a destructive fire, in 1671, possessed upwards of 100,000 volumes and MSS. St. Juste, the beautiful Jeronymite Monastery rendered famous by the retreat of Charles V, was a centre of charities in which were distributed annually, at its gates, 600 measures of wheat, (sometimes, in years of scarcity, raised to 1000 or 1500), every Christmasday 4 sheep with 50 of the some measures, while all the sick poor of the neighbourhood were supplied daily with whatever they had heed of, medicine or food. The Jeronymites of Madrid gave to the poor every month 12,000 maravedis, besides the daily distribution of food from their refectory. Those of Seville dispensed annually several dowries of 400 reals, and every fourth year 1300 ducats in the same form of bounty, besides annually giving 50,000 maravedis to paupers and prisoners, and 12,000 to indigent orphans, while every day 19 poor were entertained at dinner in a refectory appropriated to such guests.

Formerly existed seventeen Monasteries of this Order in Italy, first among which was S. Alessio on the Aventine, the only house of the Italian Jeronymites where the rule allowed meat to be eaten, in consideration of the *malaria*, the

result of long-continued abandonment of those heights by population. Lupo d' Olmeda, a restorer of the rule in its olden austerity, after long governing a monastery in Spain, became Prior of S. Alessio, where he died, deeply lamented, in 1433. That reformed branch of the Order now resident at S. Onofrio on the Janiculan Hill, their only Monastery in Rome, owes its origin to the Beato Pietro di Pisa, son of Pietro Gambacorti, whose family had succeeded to the lordship of that city after the downfall of their predecessors in sway, the Gherardesca family, become extinct by the horrible tragedy in which perished Ugolino with his sons and nephews. From that lordship the father of the beatified Pietro had fallen, and been driven into exile, because accused of conspiracy against the life of the Emperor Charles IV, before the birth, in 1355, of the son, destined to reflect new, but very different lustre on his fallen house. Flying from the society and expectations of his youth, this son became a hermit in the strictest primitive sense of that term, settling on the height of Montebello in Umbria, amidst a magnificent solitude of mountains and forests, with a far extent of the Adriatic and Apennines spread before the view. Here, through the alms spontaneously offered, he was enabled to build a church, in 1380, and soon surrounded by a religious community conforming to his austere life, first being joined by twelve men, said to have been robbers, whose intentions against him were evil, but who, struck by his example, were converted and subdued so as to become submissive disciples, two of whom, like their master, were beatified by the Church some years after death. Their community by degrees became numerous, and the life of the cenobites of the Oriental deserts was thus renewed, by their example, late in the XIV century. Their only food was bread, herbs and fruit; they rose at midnight to spend three hours in devotions, and every day publicly

confessed their faults in the refectory before sitting down to table. The legends of the primitive Orders were revived in reference to those solitaries, united under similar discipline to that of their earlier exemplars.

Angels, it was, said, brought food to them, when the usual supplies from charity failed. But the altered spirit of the world around them is curiously illustrated by the fact of their being repeatedly denounced to the Inquisition, and cited by that tribunal, as suspected of magic, for being able to sustain a life af self-denials deemed superhuman! Nor was it till a bull from Martin V had extented protection and sanction to their Order, that they were finally secured from such calumnious persecutions. The constitutions of these reformed Jeronymites were drawn up at Venice, in 1444, and in the same city were published the annals of the Beato Pietro's Order, 1656. The latter, far advanced in life, had visited Rome, and become, by request, director of a humble religious community founded by two hermits, Biagio Gasparoni and Raynaldo of Piedmont, whose first residence was in the remains of a medieval fortress raised above the ruins of the Neronian Thermae. These recluses obtained possession of a small piece of ground an the Janiculum, where, in 1439, they began to erect an oratory to S. Onofrio, not completed till after seven years; but many years had not passed before the lowly chapel grew into a considerable church, and the hermitages around it gave place to an ample convent, so that the festival of St. Onophrius, as here eelebrated, beone of the popular devotions among the Roman citizens, and an indulgence was granted by Alexander VI to all visiting the church that day. Nothing reminds as here of the Jeronymite Monastery of olden time, as neither their social importance, their wealth, or establishments any longer render this Order cospicuous in modern Italy. That dimly lit church, faded and unfrequented, the silent cloisters and garden wo-

fully neglected (spite of the magnificence of the view enjoyed from it) and that rugged road giving painful ascent to this height of the Janiculum, — all tell the same tale of decline, of the lingering on of an institution that has survived itself, as do so many other residences of ancient religious orders in Rome. Only 14 fathers (distinguished from other monks by their russet brown habit) now occupy these buildings, that seem sufficient for about thrice that number; here is no novitiate, but ecclesiastical studies occupy the time of the professed inmates. Neat, well-kept, and commanding noble prospects from every side, the interior seems cheerful, and the small library is in good condition. Of two cloisters the inner one has a solemn quiet beauty in its simple architecture with arcades and pillars, but the outer premises are left in that neglect so often perceived, not only in the convents but the palaces of Italy, betraying the absence of love for nature and pure pleasures in her own open-air world. In this church I have never, at any hour, found what could be a called a congregation: like not a few in Rome, it seems to be maintained almost exclusively for the uses of its own community. Yet here are treasures of art, and still more interesting monuments, that must make S. Onofrio for ever a place of pilgrimage. The genius of Pinturicchio could scarcely be appreciated more fully than as displayed in his paintings of the Apse here, the coronation of the Virgin, the Evangelists, and those divinely graceful figures of Angels singing while they adore; and Peruzzi's Madonna enthroned, Flight into Egypt etc, in worthy companionship, complete the admirable series on the walls and ribbed vaulting. Domenichino's frescoes, on the lunettes of an outer portico, present scenes from the life, or rather visions of St. Jerome that strikingly illustrate the mental history of that fervid high-wrought intellect in his ascetic solitude. We see him caught up in trance to the seventh Heaven, and brought before the redeem-

ing Judge, when a dread voice demands « Who art thou? » a Christian, the answer; but an accuser interposes «nota Christian but a Ciceronian » (*non Christianus sed Ciceronianus*); though, to battle against the fascination, Jerome used to *fast* before reading the works of that great philosopher whose ascendancy he almost feared, because so deeply feeling it. Again in the desert, worn out by penitence, yet haunted by the phantasms of his own temptations, in the form of dancing females wantonly displaying their persons near — as he tells us he saw, on the sands of those Oriental wildernsses, the footprints of the dancing girls of Rome! In regard to the Eremite Saint whose name this church bears, all the passages of his wildly wonderful legend are represented on the walls of the inner cloister: his escape from the flames, into which, a new born infant, he is thrown by the unnatural commands of his own father, the king of Persia; his visions, yet a child, of the Infant Saviour; his life for 60 years in the desert, where an Angel every week administers to him the Eucharist; Angels watch and sing over his body; a lion digs his grave, and other solitaries see his soul ascend in form of a dove to beatitude! (1).

There is one day in the year when St. Onofrio attracts unusual visitors, and throngs, morning and evening, continue to ascend that steep approach. Not devotion to the Saint, but to departed Genius thus draws to the spot consecrated as the death scene and grave of the Poet who, not in vain, « sought a refuge from his hopes betrayed» in this retirement.

Though poetry must be pronounced well-nigh defunct in

(1) His story rests on the authority of Metaphrastes, in his life of Panutius, another anchorite who suffered martyrdom under Diocletian, and visited Onophrius in the desert, being the sole attendant at his death. The legend of his birth and condemnation to the flames seems without foundation.

Rome, the honours paid to the memory of one of her crowned votaries, about whom more has been said and sung than almost any other, must be viewed with approbation of the feeling and taste dictating them. On the anniversary of the death of Tasso, his chamber in this Convent is thrown open to the public, decorated with garlands of bay, and flowers the fairest of the season, hung in profusion from its walls, and those of the corridor leading to it; various inscriptions are displayed on scrolls, at intervals between these graceful tributes to the genius whose last mortal trial hallowed these precincts, and some conceived feelingly, as the subjoining translation may show: —

« Torquato Tasso, in the ineffable melody of his song, revealed the intimate union and harmony of souls, which is called love. »

« Like a dove impelled by desire, the enamoured spirit of Torquato Tasso, neglected and afflicted by men, returned exulting into the bosom of its God. »

All the personal relics of the Poet are exhibited in this chamber — the mask of his countenance taken after death, in wax (remarkable for an expression of quick sensibility far too intense for happiness, and awakened intellect, that even death has not obliterated); a wooden crucifix, rudely carved; a broad girdle of the bark of a tree, plaited like straw; an antique patera of terra cotta, painted black; an old-fashioned cylindrical inkstand of wood, a small round mirror, and a high-backed arm-chair; lastly, the fragment of an autograph letter, framed and glazed, addressed to Girolamo Manso, perfectly legible, in character vigorous, rounded, and large, but containing nothing save general expressions of friendship and gratitude. A small oil-painting hangs here likewise, representing his death-scene, the Cardinal Aldobrandini bestowing the last blessing on the departing soul. On the 25th April, 1857, an immense concourse of

all ranks and conditions, was assembled at S. Onofrio. Its pavement strewn with laurels and myrtles, that church now displayed all the sacred pomps admitted by Catholicism for her funereal ritual; in the centre stood a lofty catafalque adorned with allegoric paintings in chiaroscuro, surmounted by arms and banners, whose fashion and devices pointed to the era of the Crusades. Many authorities, and representatives of all the Roman Academies were present, and Requiem High Mass vas celebrated pontifically, with grand music, by Monsignor Bedini. After that rite the Minister of Commerce (Milesi, now Cardinal), a notary and other officials, proceeded to their task of opening the tomb of Tasso, for transfer of his remains to the mausoleum just erected in a superbly ornamented chapel built expressly, lateral to the nave. First was uncovered a leaden coffer, in which those relics had been deposited by the monks of these cloisters, on a former transfer, in 1601, as a brief Latin epigraph simply recorded: *Torquati Tassi ossa hic sita sunt a PP. hujus Coenobii lecta et condita ad pietatis in eum atque observantiae Monumentum. Anno MDCI.* It may be imagined what a thrill passed through every spectator, who had heart or soul, when, on opening this, was first brought to light, after two and a half centuries, all left of the mortal part of that Man! the silence was broken by the only appropriate language, that of Religion, as the Prelate celebrant pronounced over those bones, with lustral water, the Church's absolutions. Few were the remains found, being far from the entire skeleton, and only a portion of the skull, in the coffer, much too small for an entire figure, which now is left to view in the chamber where the Poet died.

After being inspected by the Professor of Anatomy, Riedel, these relics were deposited in another leaden coffer, after which the immuration in the new monument was proceeded with, the Minister of Commerce placing the first stone,

but not until another formality had been observed, the affixing of signatures to a parchment containing report of this translation, by the Cardinal Vicar, Monsignor Milesi, and the General of the Jeronymites, P. Paterviani. This document was deposited in the tomb. So ended the morning's celebrations, but in the evening followed others still more characteristically Italian. The terrace-garden (or rather vineyard) that extends from one side the conventual buildings along the eastern slopes of the Janiculum, terminates in a kind of grassy amphitheatre, commanding a view that baffles all description, where the good and loving-hearted St. Philip Neri used to assemble the children he guided with fatherly care, for those half-dramatic musical performances that were an original form of his *Oratori*, and perhaps furnished suggestions to the modern lyric stage, or Opera. Here stands the remnant of a secular forest-tree, under which the Poet used to spend hours in meditation, during his retreat in his last days at S. Onofrio, but which, unfortunately struck by lightning several years ago, now remains like a majestic ruin, only to be appreciated from the sketches of artists who, when the proud tree stood yet in its vigour, frequently employed their pencils on Tasso's Oak. One loves to think how the mind of the Poet may have dwelt on such a scene as here spreads before us; how *he* must have been touched by its solemn beauty, by its lessons of grandeur and decay — The Colosseum, the tombs of Caius Cestius and Cecilia Metella, the Capitol and Palatine here speak of Pagan triumphs, the great Basilicas, the Lateran and Liberian, countless domes and towers, the Tiber winding below amidst picturesque irregularities of modern building, represent the epochs of Christianity in the ancient world's Metropolis. Here, on the afternoon of that 25th April, the grassy arena and steps cut in the soil, like an amphitheatre partly of nature's forming, were prepared for an orchestral entertainment to a large au-

dience, and in the centre a pedestal covered with draperies and laurel wreaths, supported the bust of Tasso modelled from that sadly espressive mask taken after death. The company, early collected, included all classes, many princes of the Church, representatives of aristocracy and fashion, while, a few hours before the sunset of that lovely Spring-day, the « Quirites » celebrated their *accademia* in honor of Him, so neglected during life, after death so worshipped. Talents about the best that modern Rome can produce, in music, verse and prose authorship, with more than the average of taste and earnestness, and animated at least (as not always are such reunions) by a genuine enthusiasm, distinguished the performances, honorable to all thus united for the homage of the heart to Genius. Among the poetic recitations that best merited the applause bestowed, was one by a young lady, Giannina Milli, recently risen to high reputation as an *Improvvisatrice*, who in several Italian cities has been heard in theatres or morning *séances* in public, and whose uncommon gifts of imagination and expression have stood more difficult tests successfully since the publication of many of her improvised compositions. Her recitation for this occasion, well sustaining her claims, I believe was not of the impromptu class. The last rays of the setting sun gleamed on Tasso's bust, as this evening's solemnity came to a close, thus winding up a day of tributes to Genius, which, next to the coronation of Petrarch, perhaps may rank highest in Rome's literary annals.

Many were the posthumous honours prepared, in the inflated style of those times, but more intended than fulfilled, immediately after his decease, for Tasso. By care of the Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini, his remains were first removed to the church of S. Spirito (near the foot of the Janiculan) with a stately procession bearing torches, representatives of all the Religious Orders, the Papal Court, the professors of the University, nobles, *litterati*, and an immense throng of

people, that laurel crown being now placed on the cold brow to which it was destined vainly during lifetime. Later in the day the same funeral pomp accompanied the body in return to S. Onofrio, where at night the interment took place (as usual in this country) privately, with closed doors. Manso was his first biographer; a Professor of Philosophy was engaged to prepare a Latin panegyric, and one Castellini for the Latin epigraphs to be appended round the church — a nameless crowd of poetasters for the supply of sonnets and canzoni, then (as to this day) produced for almost every imaginable occasion of literary and domestic interests among the Romans. But all without results — the Cardinal's cares were claimed in other directions, and the parasite tribe, only dependant on the inspirations of their high-placed patron, withdrew their services. The Jeronymite fathers placed a simple inscription over the tomb on the pavement: *Torquati Tassi ossa hic jacent hoc ne nescius esses hospes ftres hujus Eccl. PP. Anno MDCI obiit Anno MDCV* — immediately above; and eight years passed before any description of monument was erected to Tasso. At last the Cardinal Bevilacqua, a liberal friend to men of letters, caused to be raised that still standing, with the head of the Poet painted on its marble above the inscription — a monument indeed of no pretensions to either dignity or beauty, and which did not check Marini's reproach in a sonnet, many years later, « Cosi ten giaci senza onor di tomba, » — nor the more bitterly expressed indignation of Alfieri. It is now several years since, under the pontificate of Gregory, a society of gentlemen formed itself at Rome to collect a subscription towards the erecting of a more distinguished memorial, and the sculptor De Fabris was early selected to be honored by this commission. Strange was the tardiness and insignificance of the offerings that slowly came in for an object thus recommending itself! but, in 1858, deficiencies were supplied by the

liberality of Pius IX, seconded worthily by Monsignor Milesi, his minister, and also by Cardinal Antonelli, who made donation of the precious marbles for encrusting the monumental chapel — as we now see it, an amplification of that dedicated to St. Jerome, near the original sepulchre of the Poet, decorated with great splendour, marbles, alabasters, agate, a profusion of gilding and stucco reliefs, with paintings of some merit, and a cupola — rather too gorgeous, indeed, and too startlingly contrasted with the sombre gravity of the church around. By Filippo Balbi (a Neapolitan, of late years much engaged in Rome's churches) is the altar-peice of St. Jerome in the desert, listening in soul, as he describes himself, to the sound of the last trumpet (visibly introduced by the painter) that haunted his solitude — a picture finely conceived, though executed under disadvantages to the artist, who was obliged to prepare it hurriedly for a given date. By the same are the frescoes in the outer compartment, where the monument stands between this chapel and the nave, intending illustration of one of Tasso's last poems, « Il Mondo Creato » — the Supreme Being blessing the globe, surrounded by little Angels, of much infantile beauty; and in the pendentives, allegoric figures representing the four primary elements: with fruits and flowers, one resting on a globe and pressing a tortoise, the other soaring upward, appear the Genii of Earth; two others, with a net, fish and shells, allegorise Water; piles of arms (Vulcan's fabrication) and a torch are exhibited by the Genii of Fire; while the Genii of Air hold, one a dove, the other a double pipe into which he is blowing — altogether forming a graceful and original series. In a lunette is the Poet's death-scene (also by Balbi), with the group of Monks, and the Cardinal bearing the Papal benediction. As to the monument, little save good intentions and a happy introduction of portraits, can be found moritorious there. Why a Tenerani, a Benzoni,

or Bartolini should not have been employed on a work interesting to the honour of Art and Literature for all Italy, one is at a loss to comprehend — unless favoritism, the arbiter of so much, prevailed here also, as in so many other conspicuous undertakings at Rome. Of monuments lately erected in this city to the renowned or elevated — to Gregory XVI by Amici, to the Cardinal Mai by Benzoni, to the heart of O' Connell by the same, to the Duchess Lante by Tenerani, to the sculptor Finelli by Rinaldi, this to Tasso is, in every respect, the least satisfactory.

The statue of the poet, larger than life, seated in the niche at the centre, is utterly unworthy, foppish, extravagant; the costume of his age, however picturesque, is far from *sculpturesque*, with its point-lace, slashed doublet, and frills in conceited profusion. He is represented at a table, pen in hand, looking up as for inspiration; but the countenance seems, so far from expressing the divine *afflatus*, falsely lit with the fire of an actor doing his utmost, attitudinising, to *look* the « fine frenzy » as much as possible. The lyre and wreath are of course introduced, among many accessories, whose *ensemble*, combined with the character of the figure itself, is theatrical and confused, want of simplicity being the great defect in the whole. The small relief of the Madonna and Angels above, occupying the semi circle of the archway, is in better taste; and the inscription, « *A Torquato Tasso il Secolo XIX*, » all that could be desired. Much the most interesting is the basrelief of the funeral procession, where all the figures are intended portraits. His contemporaries, also poets, Chiabrera and Bracciolini, precede the bier of Tasso, near to whom are the Polish Ambassador, the Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga, Cardinal Albano, and the Benedictine Abate Angelo Grillo; Oddi, Mazzoni and Malatesta, who defended him from the attacks of « the Della Cruscan quire; » his physician Mercuriali, and his friend and imitator

Ongaro, complete the group, succeeded immediately by the Cardinal Cinzio. The supporters of the bier and those following are also portraits of persons in some manner connected, as friends, critics, commentators, with the deceased or his literary history, among these appearing his two biographers, Manso and Serassi; and last of all in the funeral train, Giuseppe De Fabris, the sculptor. The pall extended over the bier, under the uncovered body, bears the inscription: *Torquato Tasso coronato nella pompa funebre li* 26 *Aprile* 1595 — the words recording this coronation of death appropriately divided by a Cross.

A bright galaxy, the gifted mourning for the gifted, have united to weave a crown for the memory of Tasso — names resounding through all lands, revered wherever their languages are known! Among all perhaps the most subtle appreciation and exquisite presentment of the moral portraiture is supplied by Goethe, alike profound in analysis of the weaknesses and in glorifying the greatness of this character —

> — Bard and Lover,
> Whose visions were too thin to cover
> The face of one false woman over.
>
> (Mrs Browning)

Northern poets have entered more deeply into the subject than most of his Italian illustrators, though among the latter are two living writers who have brought Tasso with more than ordinary truthfulness before us. Giacometti's tragedy on the subject, produced for the first time last Winter in Rome, contains scenes bringing out finely the sensitiveness and enthusiasm, the morbid irritability and nobler qualities of his hero, who found in Salvini a personification fully adequate. Another modern drama, in which the same actor has been admired, is inferior. « Tasso a S. Onofrio » is a beautiful idyl by Mamiani, with the high finish and intellectual refinement proper to all the works of that philosophic writer:

The scene being laid in the garden here, the gardener and hi daughter open by a conversation, full of their eagerness to see for the first time, him they have heard so much about.

Desso il Poeta!
Oh la bella persona! oh come accenna
Nel mover tardo degli occhi suavi
L'altezza di sua mente!

exclaims the country girl when the feeble sufferer appears; and a soliloquy ensues, interrupted by the simple remarks of his unperceived observers, in which the Poet dwells on his Past and Present, his trials and aspiratious, with a genuine unexaggerated pathos. The love in vain which had tortured him begins to absorb all his thoughts, when the hymn of the monks is heard swelling from the cloisters, and a higher chord being thus touched, reflections of another strain follow, conveying justly that calm and elevation that seem to have eradicated all bitterness and subdued all passions into the anticipatious of immortality, during the last days of Tasso at S. Onofrio.

Another of renown who reposes among the dead here, yet unhonored by any monument, is Cardinal Mezzofanti. On a simple slab in the epitaph: *Heic in sede honoris sui situs est Iosephus Mezzofanti S. R.* E, *Card. Innocentio morum et pietate memorandus itemque omnium doctrinarum ac veterum novorumque idiomatum scientia plane singularis et fama cultiori orbi notissimus* — with dates, born at Bologna 1774, died at Rome 1848. He expired 15th March, during the Republican Government in Rome, which offered the tribute of a public funeral, refused by those who had to decide, in their unwillingness to accept from sueh authority. It is strange and regrettable that such a man should have passed away leaving absolutely no record of his unrivalled erudition — nothing save a biographic notice of his instructor, Emmanuel da Ponte, and a few Latin letters and epigraphs, pub-

lished after death, being extant in print to attest the abilities of this greatest linguist (1); but his friend, Father Bresciani, has stated, in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, that the very year which was his last, he had formed the design of a great polyglot undertaking to illustrate the analogies of the principle Semitic, Chametic and Japhetic idioms, and their offshooting branches in other tongues — in fact, the entire philology of the known world! How many languages and dialects did Mezzofanti really know? has been asked repeatedly, and answered with singular descrepancies — He himself replied only by a modest smile when Lady Morgan asked him if he were really familiar with as many as 40; but Bresciani (a most trust-worthy witness) asserts that his acquirements actually extended to the marvellous amount of 78 languages! and in his library were found, after his death, besides 26 great polyglot works, 300 grammars and dictionaries, certainly for use more than show. Not only familiar with the Greek and Latin classics, his memory was stored, allowing apt quotation, with the beauties of Corneille, Racine, Boileau, Goethe, Schiller, Wieland, and (if we may believe the same biographer) with all that best illustrates the nationality, in Spanish, Portughese, English, Polish and Hungarian literature. Mild and simple in manners, unpretending, pious, charitable, Mezzofanti was not only the wouderful linguist, but (much better) the exemplary priest. In the necrology preserved in the Archives here, under date 1621, is the following entry: « On the 12th August died the Signor George Barcklay of Lorraine, a most learned man who — (some words are here wanting)— who came to Rome where he lived a life full of goodness (*in gran bontà di vita*), and at last died on the aforesaid day, and was buried in this our church near the

(1) See, in the *Archivio Storico*, an intelligent article on the biographers of Mezzofanti by Cesare Guasti.

chapel of the Signori Madrucci. » John Barcklay, belonging both to Scotland and France, was born in the latter country to which his father had emigrated in the reign of Elizabeth, and where he had married a lady of noble race, after proving (as required for that alliance) the nobility of his own descent. With his only son the father returned to England after the accession of James, who received him graciously, was pleased to smile on a Latin *carmen* addressed to his pedantic Majesty by the promising youth, and actually ordered the restoration of the property confiscated from the Barcklays an account of their constancy to the Catholic Church. James invited the father to leave his son at court, to finish his studies under royal protection, but the former, suspecting intent to proselytize, preferred taking him back to France, where he constrained him, much against inclination, to follow the studies of law. A Satire, modelled on the norma of Petronius, directed against the corrupt manners of the European courts at this period, was the first noticeable fruit of his literary labours, unreservedly pursued after the opposition of the parent had been removed by death. He returned to try his fortunes at the court of James, and there had some hand in concocting the polemic satire, *Funiculus triplex et Cuniculus triplex*, given to the public with the honours of royal editorship, but completely refuted and crushed by the masterly answer of Bellarmino, whose attention was attracted by its ostentatious claims perhaps more than by any intrinsic merits. After this discomfiture young Barcklay left England for Rome, invited there (as some have stated) by the Borghese Pope, Paul V, who certainly received him with favour, proving a munificent patron, as did other Pontiffs, during the many years of his sojourn in this city. Here he wrote the only one of his works now remembered, the *Argenis*, a species of philosophical romance in Latin, comprising a laboriously tedious political allegory on the subject of the

French court, whose monarch, Henry IV, is introduced under the name Polyarchus. The idea was happy, the execution strained and ponderous; nor is it likely that since the author's decease, many beyond the limits of the erudite have undertaken the task of getting through, from biginning to end, such a book as this *Argenis*, whose literary position is now perhaps best symbolised by what I have myself witvessed — its purchasability on second hand book stalls in the streets of Rome. Yet so did not judge the friends, or other cotemporaries of its author; and one Italian biographer hazards the assertion that Richelieu found this volume worthy of his profound studies directed towards the science of diplomacy! (Scifoni, Biographical Dictionary) The *Icon Amicorum* was the last of Barcklay's productious, so full of conceits and exaggerations that, it seems, even his circle of intimates could not extol, or secure even passing honors to this. His latter years were under a cloud of constitutional melanchaly, consoled, however, by the pursuits of botany and horticulture in his well-supplied garden near the Vatican, nor wanting the good offices of friendship from many of the distinguished and noble, especially one generous patron, the Cardinal Barberini, who afterwards became Pope Urban VIII. His funeral was celebrated with pomp at S. Onofrio, where his remains lay provisionally, till their removal to a monument erected by his heirs and friends in the cemetary of S. Lorenzo, but soon destroyed from the strangest motives that ever led to such species of profanation. The disconsolate widow no sooner saw it, than she declared this tribute unworthy of her husband's fame, and vowed its destruction, which this new Artemesia contrived to accomplish as soon as decently could be, having first removed the bust, placed on its structure, to her own house — the same which, as may be shown to satisfaction, eventually passed into the hands of the Jeronymite fathers, and in still at S. Onofrio, where

others of the family are buried, the last representative being William Barcklay, who died 1673, at the Convent of St. Paul the Hermit near S. Maria Maggiore.

In compilation of Archives etc. the Jeronymites have been perhaps not less diligent or meritorious than other monastics. The necrology, extant at S. Onofrio, preserves notices of the last days of Tasso valuable from unquestioned authenticity, and affecting because perfectly simple: « Torquato Tasso, very illustrations for the qualities of his genius, died here in our Monastery of S. Honofrio, as shall be narrated. In the month of April, the year 1585, he caused himself to be conducted hither in order that the might with more security and devotion prepare himself for death, which he declared he felt himself near to. By our fathers he was received courteously, and conducted into the chambers of the loggia, where every thing necessary had been prepared for him. A short time afterwards he fell seriously ill; consequently he desired to confess and receive from the hands of the Prior the most Holy Sacrament of the altar. Being requested to leave in writing his last will, he said he wished to be buried in St. Honofrio, and left to the convent his Crucifix and 50 scudi for alms in order that so many Masses might be said for his soul, in the manner that is read in the book of legacies in our archive. From Pope Clement VIII was requested, on his part, the holy Benediction, which he conceded amply for remission of his sins. In the last days he received the extreme unction, then, with his Crucifix in his hand, contemplating and kissing the sacred image, with Christian contrition and devotion, being surrounded by our Fathers, he gave up his spirit to the Creator, the year 1595, on the 25th April, between the 11th and 12th hour (i. e. between 7 and 8 a. m.) in the fiftieth year of his age. In the evening his body was interred with universal concourse, in our church, near the steps of the high altar, the Cardinal Giulio

Aldobrandini, under whose protection he had lived during the last years, being minded to erect to him, as soon as possible, a sumptuous sepulchre, which however was never carried into effect; but after the death of the latter, the signor Cardinal Bevilacqua raised to his memory the monument which is seen on entering, on the side of the church at the left hand (1)

In the book of « entries and expenses, » in the same archives, are the words: « And moreover seven gold scudi, of gold, from Signor Torquato Tasso, which money remained in the hands of the Procurator Vicar General, when all went into chapter — Sc. 8, 20. And moreover 20 scudi from Signor Pietro Roncagli, which monies are to the account of the legacy or alms left by Signor Torquato Tasso, when he passed to a better life here in the monastery of S. Honofrio, the 25th April 1595, being buried near the high altar on the side towards the garden. He said before he died that we should receive this alms; he disposed (*lassò*) that we should

(1) Though several Italian Poets received the laurel-crown in the course of the XV century, we have no record of the ceremony with which it was conferred; and Tiraboschi concludes that the solemn pomp observed in the coronation of Petrarch was not again prepared for similar occasions. One Benedetto da Cesena received the crown. from Pope Nicholas V; Giovanni Panteo was crowned with solemn formalities at Verona, in 1484; and not only did Emperors and Kings, but cities and academies now assume the right of conferring these highest poetic honours. Florence decreed a coronation to the learned antiquarian traveller, Ciriaco of Ancona, and to Leonardo Bruni. The Roman Academy bestowed the crown on Publio Fausto Andrellini, a professor of belles lettres, and on Giammichele Pingona, author of a Poem extant only in MS; and the coronation of Corilla, a poetess whose works are now forgotten, took place on the Capitol not many years before the assumed date of that imagined by Mme. de Stael, as so glowingly described in her *Corinne*.

say all the Masses of the house, performing the office over the sepulture as is customary; and then should follow the Mass of St. Gregory for his soul; and now that we are at the 8th of the current month, the said office has been performed, and the Masses will follow. — The 13th day of July 1596. » (1)

Cistercians

From all classes and professions, from young and old, were the ranks of monastic societies augmented, and various were the motives, in some cases pondered over for years previously, which induced the great, wealthy, and renowned to abandon all worldly advantages for the cloister. The feudal lord, delivered from captivity among the Saracens, believed that, to render his future life one act of thanksgiving, the vows of the monk should be preferred to the profession of arms. Under these circumstances did Hugo, Count of Lusignan, enter the Order of Grandmontains in a Monastery founded by himself. The distinguished in science or art would frequently, to secure for life's closing years the blessings of dignified repose, thus forego all the allurements of fame, like the physician of Philip Augustus who became a monk at St. Denis; or that musician buried in the chancel of his monastery with the laconic epitaph, beside the figure of a lute: *Placet, tacet, jacet.* How many the motives drawn from the inner life, the mysterious conflicts — ruins of hope, wrecks of happiness, or tempests of the soul — that may have impelled the votary to seek peace in cloistral solitude, who can imagine or enumerate?

(1) See « La Chiesa di S. Onofrio e le sue Tradizioni, » by Giuseppe Caterbi, Rome 1858 — a volume written with much care and erudition, now exposed for sale in the chamber of Tasso here.

Not alone
Dread of the persecuting sword — remorse;
Wrongs unredressed, or insults unavenged
And unavengeable; defeated pride,
Prosperity subverted, maddening want;
Friendship betrayed, affection unreturned;
Love with despair, or grief in agony. —
Not always from intolerable pangs
He fled; but, compassed round with pleasure, sighed
For independant happiness; craving peace,
The central feeling of all happiness,
Not as a refuge from distress or pain,
A breathing time, vacation, or a truce,
But for its absolute self: a life of peace,
Stability without regret or fear.
That hath been, is, and shall be evermore,
Such the reward he sought —
(Wordsworth)

And not only the helm and sword, but the crown and sceptre were, in many instances, exchanged for the cowl and crucifix — as by Carloman, brother of Charlemagne, who entered the Monastery on Mount Soracte; by Rachis, King of the Lombards, who received from the hands of a Pope the habit of St. Benedict; by Pietro Orseolo, elected Doge of Venice in 977, who, in the zenith of manhood and fame, abandoned his palace at night, accompanied by his son and three other patricians, to retire into the Monastery of St. Michel di Casan, in Gascony, where he lived 18 years in exercises of piety and penitence. Monastic superiors, however, often displayed their disinterestedness and judgment by refusing to receive those who could be more serviceable to the Christian republic by remaining in the world's commerce. No condition was made of any endowment from postulants; though voluntary offerings were accepted; and in

some convents was required a certain contribution, where the establishment wanted means. Abuses naturally arose, owing to the temptation of enriching abbeys by the substance of those who had enjoyed wealth, with other advantages, in the world left to enter their walls; but various Councils took measures to check what might have gone into excess by decreeing that nothing, not even for nourishment or dress, should be exacted before receiving into noviciate. In many renowned abbeys the communities were immense, amounting to several hundreds; but, as embarrasment sometimes resulted, it became necessary to fix a given number; and subsequent founders used to prescribe the number admissible into a new monastery till the property acquired should allow increase. The power and dignity of Abbesses, in the middle ages, was great; they might be called queens in spiritual government, and were often women of great abilities. Frequently did they enjoy rights to tribute and obedience, as feudal sovereigns, extending their authority over various monasteries, sometimes (though this was afterwards considered abusive) over several communities of both sexes, so that nnmerous families of monks might owe obedicnce to a female! Powers were arrogated, in some instances, by high-placed Lady Abbesses, which the Church never could sanction or admit, as, in certain Spanish cloisters, the right to hear confessions and pronouncc sacramental absolution over their subject nuns! No doubt, the attainment of that rank secured by Christianity to woman, was facilitated or farthered, in the middle ages, by that commanding spectacle, so different from anything seen by antiquity, of the gentler sex thus invested with sacred prerogatives among the high dignitaries of Catholicism! Mabillon mentions the services of nuns in the walk for which the Benedictines were so famous, as copyists, and the admired calligraphy of many among those sisterhoods, as St. Melanie,

and the nuns of St. Cesaria, animated by their foundress herself, at Arles. The privileges granted to Abbots by the Holy See were numerous, among others the mitre and episcopal insignia, conceded, in the first instance, to St. Columbau, founder of Bobbio and other monasteries, in the VI century; and from the X, but more extensively in the XI century, allowed to other Abbots. The Council of Trent granted them faculties for giving the tonsure and minor Orders to their spiritual subjects. The Abbots of Monte Cassino, as superior of the first house in the most distinguished Order, was styled « Abbot of Abbots. » For the most part, though not exclusively, these dignitaries belonged to noble families and were divided into three classes — Abbots who, besides governing a monastic community, had jurisdiction spiritual and temporal over territories often extensive; those who simply governed their own monasteries; — and those who had only the rank and title, without any community subject to them. For eligibility to the office of Abbot the candidate was required to be a priest, arrived at the age of 25, and a professed religious of the Order he was to govern, of legitimate birth (though this requirement was often dispensed with) and exempt from all that marked with infamy before the law. In France, after the death of Charlemagne, arose the abuse of bestowing Abbeys upon seculars by royal letters patent, which the Kings of the third dynasty, however, suppressed. Throughout Europe prevailed, at one time, another abusive exercise of civil power, the giving abbeys *in commendam* to laics, who were allowed to enjoy their revenues, and which lay superiors, generally of the higher nobility, called « Count Abbots, » sometimes pretended to most undue authority over the monks, and altogether perverting the original nature of their rights, contrived to render hereditary the possession bestowed by the crown only for life. Military chiefs who espoused the cause and defence of particular communities in time of war,

were called « Abbots of the Camp; » and another of these irregular authorities was the « Military Abbot, » a title given to men of arms who had pledged themselves to protect certain monasteries, but often changed the character of patron into that of despoiler, to prey upon, instead of defend, the peaceful brotherhoods. From the XI century these abuses began to disappear under the oppositions and reforming energy of the Popes. Till the XII century the architecture of many Abbeys comprised no other material than wood; wars and devastations, accidental or malicious conflagrations, swept away many such fragile buildings; and then began to rise the majestic structures preserved to this day in many countries, or whose ruins are still the admiration of all in lands where the Monastery is an institution fallen or impoverished. How greatly the Monasteries, as well as general Councils, contributed to the means through which the Church abolished European slavery, is acknowledged by all trustworthy historians, and clearly traced out, in its several stages, by the admirable work of Balmes, « Catholicism and Protestantism compared. » The immense number of lay dependants upon the larger Monasteries, who mostly entered into that state voluntarily, throughout the middle ages, affords proof of their complicated and beneficent action over society. During those times of vast monastic possessions might be seen advancing slowly through the roads, about sunset, the « *Plaustrum Dominicale*, » a great wain surmounted by a high stage and a bell for giving signal, which used to be sent from the principal Monasteries to a place of gathering, where other waggons, sometimes in hundreds, laden with corn, wine or oil, were ready to follow it to the granaries, or cellars of the cloistral buildings. « Tradition says (observes Dr Miley) that no merchant dared to venture forth on the high ways, to attend the fairs held annually in various parts of Italy, till he saw the *Plaustrum Dominicale* approaching.

Monastic lieges were divided into different classes, and enjoyed many privileges, their relations to the Abbot being sometimes feudal, with obligation of attending on all solemn occasions and taking arms to defend his Monastery from all peril. Some were attached as serfs to lands bestowed on the monks, from whom they frequently received freedom, finding almost invariably indulgent taskmasters protectors during infirmity or sickness in those cowled superiors; though many remained hereditary bondsmen, and could only intermarry with families of the same condition, leaving their childen the same duties. Some urged by the misery and helpless affliction entailed on multitudes through the cruel wars and oppression of those times, gave themselves up voluntarily to serfdom, in return for protection and maintenance; these last were called *obnoxii*. Superior in class both to the infeodated serfs and above-named dependants, were the tributaries voluntarily attached in vassalage to religious Establishments, compensating by a tribute for the protection they had stipulated to receive in return. It was not always in money, but sometimes in kind, that this census was paid; and one form, in which certain liegemen were required to make their simple offering, was that of wax for the uses of the altar, in which case they were called *cerocensuales*. These dependants were liable to fall into the state of serfdom, if failing in payment for a long period — as, for instance, three years — though minors and the aged were often pardoned, sometimes indeed on the antecedent stipulation that, when pressed by difficulties, leniency should be shown towards them. The cloisters rose from the verdant lawn, or against the dark background of woods, sorrounded by fruitful orchards or vineyards on the slopes, while the monks, in their white or black habits, Benedictine, Carthusian, or Cistercian, were moving among multidudes of busy retainers, cheered and educated, rendered respectable by labour under their superintendance. Well was

it for the future civilization of Europe, that not in cities, but in wild uncultured solitudes were the first Monasteries, for the most part, founded, and that to manual more than to spiritual labour was dedicated the time of a majority in their cloistered families. Agriculture then rose to its highest development. From some countries, as England, the culture of the vine disappeared with the suppressed Monasteries. (Hurter, « Tableaux des Institutions et des moeurs de l'Eglise au Moyen Age »). Still at this day are the choicest wines of Germany produced from vineyards originally planted by monks; and the whole cultivation of that generous plant on the banks of the Rhine is due, directly or indirectly, to Monastics. Innocent III so interested himself in this branch of industry, that he allowed labour in the vineyards even on festivals, by special dispensation. It was in this aspect, the agricultural and rural, that the monastic institution began, from the XI century, to assert its social sway and beneficence with the kindliest and most far-spreading agency; and the different congregations into which the Benedictine Order had divided itself, may from that epoch be considered in the fulness of their admirable development, the beauty and industry of their variously picturesque centres, destined to become the focus of so many interests and influences:

A gentler life spreads round those holy spires.

But in reading the fascinating pictures drawn of them in the olden time, one is struck by the contrast of that past with the present, and too often, in Italy, led to remark with surprise the absence of all testimony to that salutary ascendancy which the ancient cloisters long maintained.

St. Robert, born in the province of Champagne, 1024, was founder or rather cofounder with others, of the Order following a modification of the Benedictine Rule, called Cistercian, from Cisterze, in the forest of Citeaux (diocese of Chalons) where that Saint united with 20 companions in the de-

termination to carry out the rule of St. Benedict, with exactitude and austerity, to its fullest results. In this solitude they erected cells of wood, and cultivated the soil for their support by the labour of their hands. No more self-denying life than theirs was perhaps ever carried out systematically since the hermits of the Oriental deserts. Their food consisted of herbs and roots; they slept only four hours, appropriated as many to manual toil, and the same time to prayer and singing the praises of God. St. Robert, however, by desire of Pope Urban II, left this sanctuary to resume the direction over another community founded, on the confines of Champagne and Burgundy, where he died. The previous history of the Cistercian founders is characteristic of the times. In the year 1074, two brothers of noble birth were riding together through a wild forest near Molesme on their way to a tournament. As they journeyed evil thoughts entered their minds, the horrible temptation to fratricide for the sake of the undivided inheritance of their wealty house; with a struggle both resisted that dark suggestion, but on returning from the tournament, at precisely the same spot, the same temptation returned, more terrible, because both were now convinced it came directly from Satanic source. Without disclosing their thoughts to each other both hastened to the cell of a hermit in those woods, to him severally confessed, and then confided to each other, the fearful crisis their inner life had just passed through. Coming mutually to the conviction that they must « either be Devils in wickedness or Saints in holiness, » they agreed to abandon the world and all their prospects, to become hermits under a religious rule in that wilderness. This resolution was carried out, and before long, several others gathered around them to follow an example so impressive in that age of piety and chivalry. The infant community, desiring to adopt the rule of St. Benedict, applied to Robert, then already

Abbot of St. Michel near Tonnerre, on the borders of Burgundy, begging him to assume the government over them. This he could not at first leave other duties to accept, but, after applying to Rome, they at last obtained an order from the Pope that Robert should enter their monastery as its superior. The new establishment at Molesme was a cluster of huts, indeed, rather than anything like a monastery, on a spot cleared amidst the forest by their own hands, where their sole means of subsistence was by cultivating the unbroken soil around them. But this institution, beginning in such lowliness and austerity, soon degenerated; wealth flowed in through the bounty of the faithful; the observance grew lax, and monks were rebellious against their superiors. Not many years had passed since its origin when, in 1098, the Abbot Robert, Stephen (the Englishman, since celebrated as St. Stephen Harding) with five other monks, applied to the Bishop of Lyons, for sanction to found another community more spiritual and self denying, conformably with the true principles of St. Benedict. Citeaux, when the band of 21 brethren settled there for this holy purpose, was a spot in the midst of a pathless forest, in the diocese of Chalons, only tenanted by wild beasts, and watered by a stream frequently overflowing its banks, from the flags and bulrushes on which, it is said that the name (an old word for such weeds in marshy soil) is derived. But great the contrast presented on that spot, after, by the labour and beneficence of these good monks, « Paradise was opened in the wild, » and a stately Abbey rose with its Gothic church, appointed for sepulture of the Burgundian Dukes; when the Abbots of Citeaux celebrated Mass pontifically (as privileged by Rome in 1489), had become lords of five Mititary Orders, and sat on a lofty chair, at the same level with the Bishops, in the parliament of Burgundy (« Cistercian Saints of England, St. Stephen Abbot »). The second successor to St. Ro-

bert, as superior of the Order, was the English Saint, Stephen Harding, considered among the founders of the Cistercians on account of the number of Monasteries and the increase of communities established under him in the early years of the 12th century. One of these, Clairvaux, raised by St. Stephen in 1115, became distinguished through the great and saintly character of its first Abbot, St. Bernard, chosen to that responsible office at the age of 25, and by whom were founded not less than 60 Abbeys, under the government of superiors sent from that central sanctuary, Before he died (in 1134) St. Stephen had founded 20 Monasteries, and he lived to see the number of Citeaux establishments upwards of ninety. It does not appear that this distinguished man ever saw England again after quitting, in youth, his monastery of Sherborne to study at Paris; but his Order especially flourished in that country, and most of our great Abbeys, whose ruins are now the admiration of the tourist, Tintern, Rievaux, Furness, Fountains, and Netly, were Cistersian. From 1175 to 1225 were erected, throughout Europe, 150 Cistercian Abbeys, 23 of which in the single year 1200.

From Citeaux had sprung nine Abbeys in the space of five years, after which a new constitution was formed for the Order by the English superior, Stephen, whose plan was so esteemed for profound wisdom, that Innocent III, at the fourth Lateran Council, adopted it to serve as model for the general revival of monastic discipline. This plan was published by St. Stephen at the general chapter, 1119, his idea being to unite the entire Order into one common family, instead of leaving every monastery (like the Benedictine of old) entirely independant, a government and system by itslf. Citeaux thus became as the parent, and the four first Abbeys founded from it, like elder daughters, governing severally all the Abbeys that sprung from them. The Abbot of Citeaux was styled *Pater universalis Ordinis*; he visited

every monastery in capacity of chief, while the superiors of the four affiliated Abbeys visited Citeaux as subordinates, and each went every year to suspect the houses sprung from his own. The chief Abbot of each filiation could, with the advice of the others, depose any inferior Abbot for violation of the rule. Every year a general chapter was held at Citeaux, at which all the Abbots were obliged to attend; and at one of these assemblies the head of the whole Order might be deposed by the four chief Abbots next in rank.

The costume of the Cistercians was originally grey, but afterwards changed into white, and since 1475 precisely as at present — a white vestment with black cowl and scapular, girded round the waist (when abroad) with a black band. The Rule of St. Benedict is observed in all their houses, as in the forest cloisters of Citeaux.

This well-ordered system had the resources and defined relations of constitutional government; and indeed was one of those examples set by the Monastic Institute of monarchic principle combined with responsibility. A collection of observances of the Citeaux community, called *Liber Usuum*, comprised in 180 chapters, ascribed either to St. Bernard or St. Stephen Harding, is still accepted as the code of the Cistercians. The *Exordium Parvum*, a compendium of the story of Citeaux written by order of St. Stephen, was called by annalists the « *Golden Book*; » so highly was it prized for precept and exemple; the *Bibliotheca Patrum Cisterciensium*, 1662, in 3 folios, contains this celebrated record, besides which many other collections have been made of memoirs and documents pertaining to the Cistercians — as their general Annals, in 4 volumes, by Manriquez of Bourges, and the « Privileges of the Cistercians, » Paris, 1713. One of the modifications called reforms sprung from this Order, took the name of *Feuillants* (Fuliensis) from a picture of the Blessed Virgin encircled with foliage and flowers, in their church, and

in 1573, effected a perfect revival of olden austerity. An Abbot named John having accomplished this reform in the Monastery of Feuillants (diocese of Toulouse), founded 1172, the religions who followed him bound themselves to abstain perpetually from all animal food, fish included, milk, oil, and even salt, confining themselves to herbs boiled in pure water and a little barley bread, for the daily fare they partook of kneeling on the pavement. Alexander VI. united all the Cistercian communities of Tuscany and Lombardy into one Congregation called that of St. Bernard, still established in Rome.

Signal have been the services to the Church, and magnificent the hospitality of Cistercian Monasteries, which, for the most part in solitary and mountainous regions, ever afforded shelter and good cheer, the more acceptable to weary travellers in days when hotels were rare, and high roads perilous throughout Europe. *Bonum est nobis hic esse*, were the first words of an impressive inscription, inviting to fly the vanities of the world, frequently placed over the gates of their cloisters, and thus paraphrased by Wordsworth:

> Here man more purely lives, less oft doth fall;
> More promptly rises, walks with nicer heed;
> More softly rests; dies happier; is freed
> Earlier from cleansing fires; and gains withal
> A brighter crown.

Not only varieties of aspect, but of principle and sentiment in devotional life, are presented by the Institutions of Monachism. The primitive characteristic of the Cistercians was an austere semplicity that might have satisfied those who found their objection to Catholic ritual mainly on its symbolic pomp and use of imagery. The Puritans who once suffered so nobly for their convictions in England and Scotland, were perhaps little aware how the feeling that informed their worship had been recognised by the Church they

abhorred, and denounced, as the great corruption of Christianity. In the sanctuary of Citeaux almost every decoration was, on principle, excluded. Except the Crucifix were admitted no sculptures either in wood or stone. Instead of the vestments of embroidered silk and candelabra of gold studded with jewels, that glittered amid the incense-cloud at the gorgeous rites in other Monasteries; instead of the chalices and censers of gold, the rainbow tinted glass, and dazzling illumination of shrines encrusted with coloured marbles or metallic chiselling, were here admitted only the candelabrum of iron, the chalice of some base metal gilt, the censer of copper, a few lamps and tapers rarely lit, vestments of linen or cotton, while through uncoloured windows the light streamed on no superb shrine or monuments, as none save of regal or episcopal rank could be interred in these simple « houses of prayer » (such the Monks habitually called them); nor could any mausoleum be erected even to such. In their offices the Cistercians preferred a severely simple chant, divested entirely of the rich modulations introduced already in the vocal services of other cloisters, on the principle that sacred song ought not to flatter the ear, but elevate the heart by a sense at once of the sublimity of the infinite and unworthiness of the finite. In England, when all the Monasteries were obliged to give up their vessels and ornaments, silver and gold, for contributing to the ransom of Richard Coeur de Lion, the Cistercians had no such treasures to yield, but supplied their share of the impost in a tribute itself attesting the simplicity of their Institution — a year's produce of sheep-shearing! In the promotion of letters the Cistercians never rendered services equal to those of the Benedictines and Carthusians. Their leisure was devoted to bodily toils; active in discharge of spiritual duties, they were pastors, preachers, or engaged in controversy. Their Abbots did not much encourage the Monks to undertake composition or

transcription of books; and they were not allowed to display their skill in the miniatures or elaborate arabesques by which other monastics adorned their volumes. Jewelled covers and gold clasps were also forbiddem in their simple, but not barren, libraries. « Every labour (observes Hurter) which had not evident utility for its object, was considered by them idleness. » Even among their rules it was prescribed that none of their members could undertake literary authorship without permission from the general assembly; yet (as the same writer observes) an Order of which such a man as St. Bernard was the soul during half a century, could not be altogether strange to intellectual enterprise. And facts, culled from their annals, evince as much. We find one Cistercian Abbey presenting to another a collection of 60 volumes, and sending at the same time certain of its community to instruct and inspire a taste for learning among their coreligionists. It was by Cistercians that the first translation of the Scriptures was made into the Swedish language; and a Danish Bishop charged the Cistercians of a house endowed by himself to make investigation for useful objects into the history of his country. In recent times a Benedictine Bishop declared himself constrained to avow, that learned pursuits had been so abandoned by his own Order, as to leave knowledge to take refuge with the Cistercians.

The Cistercian church was divided into four parts, at the upper end standing the high altar, on which the sole object permitted was a Crucifix, of painted wood; above was suspended a pyx containing the Holy Sacrament, reserved with great honour in a linen cloth, with a lamp perpetually burning before it. Two large tapers burnt before this altar during Mass, but it seems that lights were never placed upon it; no paltry or profane-looking ornaments were admitted in any part. Every Sunday the whole community received the Communion, then administered to all in both kinds. In the

solitudes of their domains, mostly opened amid pathless forests, did the Cistercians set example, not merely of austerest self-denial, but of that self-supporting industry which was anciently the characteristic of the religious life. Subsisting upon their own labour, all, during harvest time, were daily at work in the fields; even the priest put off chasuble and stole, after Mass, to join, with his assistents at the altar, the busy company out of doors. The office of cook went the round, week by week, of the whole Community. After repose on hard couches, without changing their habits, all rose two hours beyond midnight, to chant matins in choir, nor did they again retire to sleep; the coarsest bread, sour wine or thin beer, unseasoned vegetables and raw fruits were their only food. As to reading, it seems that originally the Scriptures alone were their study, and a portion of the sacred books was distributed to each by the Cantor, on the first sunday in Lent. Such a life did many of high position and endowments prefer; in such cloisters, amidst studies pursued hours before daylight, was it that the mind of St. Bernard rose to the lofty aspirations and matured the powers of thought that have bequeathed magnificent works to fill their enduring place in the highest walks of Christian literature. Contrasting such example with the poor pleasures and self-indulgences by which so many surround themselves, till luxury becomes fancied necessity, it is satisfactory to remember what multitudes have arrived at in the absorbing object of rendering the present fit introduction to the future existence.

The unadorned simplicity of the ancient churches of this Order, does not indeed characterise those officiated by them in Rome, where decoration vies with that of other Italian temples. In 1560 was assigned to them, by Pius IV, the Sanctuary, formerly occupied by Carthusians, of *S. Croce in Gerusalemme*, styled the Sessorian Basilica, from the gar-

den placed here by Heliogabalus — « Sessorium, » a name supposed to be derived *a sedendo* (in the sense of residence), and subsequently transferred to an edifice, supposed a Palace, here erected — *Palatium Sessorianum*. (1) It seems that this became the residence of the Empress Helena, and her son Constantine founded the Basilica within the walls of her palace, about the year 330. That Emperor made donations to it estimated at 143,000 gold scudi; and after the true Cross had been placed here, the names Sessoriana and Heleniana Basilica were sometimes exchanged for that of *Hierusalem*, as Anastasius designates it, on account of this revered relic of the Passion, as the idea attached to this sanctuary of representing the holy City itself. It was not apparently the recovery of the Cross, however, that led to the foundation of the church. But the possession of such a Relic reflected a character of extraordinary sanctity on this building classed among the seven Basilicas to be visited for obtaining Indulgences. On Good Friday, and the days of stations, the Popes used to proceed hither from the Lateran, barefoot in procession, to celebrate; and at the shrine of the Relic were candelabra of massive silver perpetually burning. Still on the festival of the Cross, does the Roman Senate annually make offering here of a silver chalice and 4

(1) The banquets of this young Sardanapalus, fully described by ancient writers, consisted frequently of 22 courses, tongues of nightingales and peacocks, cockscombs torn from the live fowl, pheasants' brains, parrots' heads, peas powdered with gold dust, beans seasoned with amber, and rice stewed with pearls, being among the delicacies served to his taste. It is difficult to believe that such a reign can have been reality so long as 150 years after Christianity had been introduced into this City; but no doubt, unconsciously to himself, Heliogabalus contributed to accelerate the fall of the diseased colossus it was necessary to destroy for the triumphs of the Truth.

wax torches. It is peculiarly interesting to find, as often in Rome, the sites rendered infamous by guilt in antiquity now consecrated by all most sacred, or revered in Christianity, as here — the temple dedicated to the life-giving sign of atoning Agony on the spot polluted by the indescribable orgies of one of those exceptions to humanity, whose pageant forms lower from historic distance in lurid light, rather as abstracts of evil than common heirs of mortality. Instead of the quiet vineyards and pleasant grass-plot, the old church, and Monastery, we may picture to ourselves the voluptuous pleasure grounds and gilded halls appropriated to the orgies of a boyish Emperor clad in effeminate vestments of silk bordered with pearls, drawn in a chariot of gold studded with precious stones, and sometimes, instead of horses, by immodest women yoked in companies; or banqueting in *triclinia* panelled with silver, by the light of lamps fed with nard and other perfumes, while roses and violets descended in showers from the fretted ceiling (1).

Few churches in Rome are set within a picture so impressive as S. Croce, approached on every side through those solitudes of vineyards and gardens, quiet roads and long avenues of trees, that occupy such immense extent within the circuit of Rome's walls. The scene from the Lateran, looking towards this Basilica across the level common between lines of trees, with the distance of Campagna and mountains, the castellated walls, the arcades of the Claudian aqueduct

(1) Nibby considers the name « Sessorian » an invention of the scholiasts, or at least of not earlier origin than the IX century, when it was applied to these ruins, supposed a palace; and that the real title for these gardens was *Horti Variani*, from Sextus Varus, the proper names of Heliogabalus before becoming Emperor, to whom Nibby ascribes all the constructions now in ruin, except the Amphitheatre, on this spot.

amid gardens and groves, is more than beautiful, full of memory, and associations. The approach by an unfrequented road presents the finest distances, seen through foliage beyond the dusky towers of the Honorian walls, and a wide extent of slopes covered with vineyards, amid which stand at intervals some of those forlorn cottage-farms, grey and dilapidated, that form characteristic features in Roman scenery (1). The majestic ruins dedicated to Minerva Medica, the so-called temple of Venus and Cupid, and the fragments of the Baths of St. Helena, on one side, the Castrense Amphitheatre, the arches of the aqueduct half-concealed in the foliage of Cypress and ivy, are objects that increase the attractions of a walk to this Sanctuary of the Cross. But disappointing and inappropriate is the exterior of this church, retaining nothing antique except the square Lombardic tower, of the XII century, in storeys of narrow arched windows, its brickwork ornamented with disks of coloured marble, and a canopy, with columns, near the summit, for a statue no longer in its place.

(1) The pedestrian may enter a doorway by a flight of steps, off this solitary road, where a singular pile in decagonal form rises amidst the vineyards. This building might puzzle archaeologists, and is marked in Italian maps of Rome simply as « sepulcro incognito. » The imperfect upper storey stands on older masonry, partly in brick, partly of irregular tufo blocks. Entering, we find a little court, partly formed by the projections of two lofty wings with curved extremities, built in tufo, covered with stucco now blackened. The battered old pile has been filled up for residence in the storey above — a truly spectral abode — while in a gloomy vault below are deposited barrels of wine; and the bush, the usual Italian sign, invites the traveller to take his bottle here, well worth a few « bajocchi » for the sake of observing this strange fragment of antiquity, where modern life has nested itself in a manner so grotesque.

About A.D. 720 the Basilica of St. Helen had become roofless, and was repaired by Gregory II. Subsequent Pontiffs were liberal in their donations to it; and about 975, Benedict VII. built the adjoining Monastery. In the XII century the whole pile had fallen into such decay, that Lucius II undertook its complete rebuilding. Urban V. restored the Monastery with 3000 florins, a sum left for a foundation of Carthusians by Prince Orsini, and those monks, before being transferred to the Diocletian Thermae, were settled here. It is questioned whether any part of the existing church be of the Constantinian foundation: the Abate Besozzi considers, it may be so; Nibby infers that the mass of the present structure belongs to the year 1144, but in no part to earlier date. The present façade and atrium were built in 1744, partly from the spoils of the neighbouring ruins called Temple of Venus; and justly has the caustic Milizia, in his « Roma delle Belle Arti », classed the perpetrators of this modernisation among *architetti nefandi*. A veritable architectural nondescript is this façade, with the fantastic ellipse of its atrium, whose columns (of granite and a rare marble called *bigio lumachellato*) belong to the ancient building destroyed for such deformation. The interior has, alike with the exterior, suffered from the frigid meaningless intrusions of the 18th century. Of 42 granite columns, noted for scale and beauty, in the original edifice, only 8 are left visible, the remainder being built up in the heavy piers now dividing the nave and aisles. The antique pavement of inlaid marbles, however, preserves a good specimen of the *opus Alexandrinum*. Near the entrance, is a valuable monument of Papal history in that darkly perturbed period, the 10th century — the epitaph, in metrical lines, to Benedict VII, recording his foundation of this Monastery for monks who were, day and night, to sing the praises of Deity; his charities to the poor, the widow and the orphan; and alluding also to the deeds of the Antipope

Franco, called by Baronius (with play upon the name he assumed, Boniface) « Malefacius », who by violence usurped the Holy See, threw into prison and caused to be strangled the legitimate Pope, Benedict VI., pillaged the treasury of St. Peter's, but was cast down from his ill-gotten dignity after one month, excommunicated, and fled to Constantinople. The chronology of this epitaph is by the ancient system of Indictions — the death of the Pope dated XII Indiction (1), corresponding to the year 984; and the Latin style of the 10th century is curiously exemplified in lines relating to the Antipope:

Hic primus reppulit Franconis spurca superbi
Culmina qui invasit sedis apostolica
Qui dominumque suum captum in castro habebat
Carceris interea auctis constrictus in uno
Strangulatus ubi exuerat hominem.

The vault of the apse presents one of the most valuable works of XV century art in Rome — the story of the discovery of the Cross by St. Helena, and the restitution of that relic to Jerusalem by Heraclius (2), a fresco in various

(1) The computation by Indictions, periods of 15 years, was introduced by Constantine in September, A. D. 311, according to Muratori; but according to other historians, in the following year, that of his victory over Maxentius. What the motive for this change of system, has been questioned. Baronius supposes it had reference to the periods fixed for a tribute towards the support of the army. For many centuries it was commonly used in the chronology of the West, and in the Roman Curia, which reckoned its first Indiction from the 1st January. The years were thus counted, not in the aggregate of the period of 15, but one by one, so that Indiction X, from the opening of a century, would be its 10th year. This ancient usage is still preserved in the announcements of the tribunals of Rome, published in the official journal.

(2) A. D. 611, Cosroes, King of Persia, invaded Palestine, de-

aets; above which, on larger scale, is a benignly majestic figure of the Saviour, seated in an ellipse formed by cherubs' heads, holding a book displaying the words: *Ego sum via, veritas, et vita.* In the centre, kneeling before the Cross held by the Empress, is the Cardinal Carvajal, by whom was commissioned this fresco severally ascribed to Perugino and Pinturicchio. Platner considers it by the latter, but repainted by a modern hand; Nibby denies that it can be positively referred to either (seeing that no mention of such a work is made by Vasari in his lives of Pinturicchio and Perugino); though certainly executed in Rome under Alexander VI. Whosoever the artist, the dramatic animation of the grouping, the truthfulness, and, above all, the earnest feeling whose expression pervades the whole, must be more admired the longer we examine this work. I have heard it remarked that Overbeck has derived much from the study and appreciation of its merits. At a balcony, on one side the tribune, is a silver lamp perpetually burning before a private chapel where the Relic that has given its name to this Basilica is enshrined. It was in 1492 that, in carrying

stroyed the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and carried away all its sacred treasures, together with that portion of the Cross deposited there by St. Helena. This induced the expedition of Heraclius against Persia, which proving victorious, its natives rebelled against Cosroes, who by his own son was deposed and put to death. Peace was concluded with Constantinople; conquered provinces and treasures were restored, and among these last the relic of the Cross, which the Persians had never removed from its silver shrine. Heraclius repaired to Jerusalem expressly to restore it; he was proceeding in a splendid procession on horseback, when suddenly he found himself misteriously arrested and unable to advance further; the Patriarch Zaccariah reminded him how the Redeemer had Himself borne that Cross to Calvary, on which he laid aside all insignia of state, and with bared head and feet proceeded to the gates, now no longer impeded.

out some repairs ordered by the Cardinal titular, Mendoza, the workmen discovered a niche near the summit of the apse, closed by a brick front on which was inscribed: « Titulus Crucis. » Removing this, was found a leaden coffer fastened with three seals of wax, which contained an imperfect plank of wood about 2 inches thick, 1 1/2 palm in length, and 1 palm in breadth. On this, in letters more or less perfect, was the inscription in Hebrew, Greek and Latin — JESUS NAZARENE KING. Of the Hebrew letters only mutilated trunks remained; in the Greek of the word βασιλευς remained only the initial and in the Latin the corresponding word (*Rex*) wanted its initial. The Hebrew is now much more effaced than when seen by the writers who have described this discovery. It was, however, deciphered by a learned Rabbi, converted to Christianity, who decided the sense, « Nazarene King of, » not in the Hebrew proper, but in Syriac, the vernacular language of Judea when the Saviour was on earth. Thus was brought to light the Title of the True Cross, supposed to have been placed here more than a thousand years previously, by the Emperor Valentinian III. (1) The event excited great sensation in Rome. Innocent VIII, then Pope, came with the College of Cardinals to venerate this Relic, afterwards deposited by Cardinal Mendoza in the silver shrine, in which it is still exposed, with other relics of the Passion, from the balcony, on three occasions annually. Contemporary writers, Lolius Petronius, Infessura, and Burcardt (the Papal Master of Ceremonies) have left detailed narratives of this interesting discovery. They bear witness, that, when

(1) Such the account in Moroni's « Dictionary of Erudition; » but Gerbet states that on the seals were the words, « Gerard, Cardinal of Santa Croce, » attesting the immuration of the Relic by a Cardinal Titular of this Church, in the 12th century, who became Pope as Lucius II.

first seen, traces of white paint, and of red introduced within the letters, appeared on the title-board, conformably with the known usage of the Romans to paint public acts on a white ground in red letters — whence the similar painting of letters, and the term *rubric* in the liturgic parlance of the Church. Another indirect, but remarkable, evidence to genuineness in this Relic, is the inscription of the letters, in all the languages, according to the Hebrew method, from right to left — little likely to have been adopted by an impostor. Marks of haste and carelessess, natural in the hurried circumstances attending that awful condemnation and punishment, bore also testimony most significant, as the inversion of *one*, contrary to the direction of the rest, among the Greek letters, and the Latin, instead of Greek desinence given to the name « Nazarene » (1). The usage of the Jews to inter instruments of death with malefactors who had suffered by them, is well known (2); and the discovery of the title, together with the remainder of the true Cross by St. Helena is mentioned by all historians who have narrated the well-known incident. We learn also from the epistles of St. Paulinus that, so early as the 4th century, the practice prevailed of immuring Relics most highly prized within the walls of Churches — and thus is accounted for the careful concealment in this instance. With the other Relic of the True Cross, deposited here by St. Helena, this is considered one of the three divisions made of that sacred treasure, for Jerusalem, Constantinople, and Rome. It was after its recovery by the Empress that Constantine abolished the punish-

(1) See De Corrieris, « De Sessorianis Reliquiis; » and Gerbet, « Esquisse de Rome Chrétienne, » whose account is the fullest that can be desired.

(2) « Solemne erat patibulum una cum corpore defuncti sepultura tradere » — Rabbinic author quoted by Gerbet.

ment of death by the Cross; and the enthusiastic reverence for that sacred symbol was still more strongly expressed in the edict of Theodosius, prohibiting its being carved on any place where the foot of man could tread upon it. Never has the sentiment of the Church, in the outward homage paid to this symbol, been more gracefully justified than in the Hymn of Vida, « In Christi Crucem : »

Quid mirum summo si te veneramur honore ?
Ipsi enim pueri loeti, immixtaeque puellae
Serta tibi et flores nectant, tibi carmina dicunt,
Te celebrant coetu, te festa fronde coronant.
Jamque adeo late in terris tibi templa, tibi aras
Mortales statuunt, tibi cerea dona cremantur,
Et pia thura, diemque tuo de nomine dicunt.
Ac propè divinos orbis largitur honores;
Haud quia sit numen, quia sit tibi sensus, at olli
Ista ferunt cujûs letho tibi gloria parta est.
Quin, suprema dies arsuro ubi venerit orbi,
Sideris in morem fulgebis, et aethere toto
Flagrantem insolita lustrabis lumine mundum. (1)

From the portion here have been distributed many fragments to Cathedral churches, Prelates, Princes, and private individuals throughout Europe, the largest so detached being at St. Peter's; but the great proportion has always remained at S. Croce, even during the spoliations that, at different periods, since the deposit, so many sanctuaries have

(1) Among the coarsely printed ballads sold for « bajocchi » in the streets of Rome, is one on the Finding of the True Cross, describing how the Empress embarks with an armament, sails straight to Jerusalem (!) and « like another Helen fires another Troy, — or, at least, takes the City by storm, instantly procures the sacred object of her martial pilgrimage, and sails back triumphant, to found this Basilica as shrine of the Cross !

suffered from in Rome. The French republican authority, in the last century, desired the superior of this Monastery to consign the keys of the relic-chapel, which he refused, but was at last compelled to do. Fortunately one key was lost, and the Prefect who attended, finding it impossible to open the doors, would not allow their being forced, (whether from some lingering of devotional feeling, he *dared* not, may be asked) but, at all events, the keys were restored to the Abbot and no further attempt was made of sacrilegeous nature. (1) Two staircases, entered near the tribune, descend into a lower church, probably all that remains of the original building at S. Croce. Here is the beautiful chapel of St. Helena, consecrated by St. Sylvester, and considered so sacred, that, by one of those prohibitions of which there are other examples in Rome, females are never allowed to enter it, except on the festival of that Saint. It stands on the very soil brought by her from Mount Calvary, a pious usage intended in a manner to transfer the *religio loci*, that begun to prevail in the 4th century, as mentioned by St. Augustine, and was still followed in the 12th when was supplied the same sacred foundation to the Campo Santo of Pisa. On the vault here are the celebrated mosaics, on a ground of gold, ascribed to Baldassare Peruzzi, in their restoration, at least, from the antique, but originally of the age of Valentinian III. It is certain that, of two restorations in the 16th century, the last cannot be Peruzzi's, who died 1536, whereas this work was effected in 1593, and (according to Platner) by a celebrated mosaicist named Zucchi. They represent, in ovals, a half-length figure of the

(1) Fragments of the True Cross may be obtained, in infinitesimally small splinters, by application through the College of St. Apollinare, free of expense, the applicant being only required to provide the receptacle, in gold or silver, for containing such relic.

Saviour, and the Evangelists with their symbols; the story of the discovery of the Cross; the Apostles Peter and Paul, St. Sylvester, and St. Helena, before whom is kneeling the Cardinal Carvajal, commissioner of the restoration — this last unquestionably therefore one of the figures to be ascribed, to Peruzzi.

Near the grating that divides this from an outer chapel, is the pedestal once sustaining a statue erected to St. Helena by the « Comes, » Julius Maximilianus, as the inscription informs us, found in the vineyard of the Monastery, additionally curious as connected with the period, the year 327, when Constantine had left Rome after the death of his son Crispus, cruelly and unjustly sentenced by himself, and the Empress undertook her journey to the Holy Land to solace the grief awakened by her grandson's fate. This conclusion Nibby arrives at from the absence of the name *Constans*, beside those of his brothers, Constantinus and Constantius, both named in the inscription, as already declared « Caesars » by their father, and also the absence of that of Crispus himself. Constans received the title Caesar in the year 336; Helena died in 328, and the tragic fate of Crispus occurred in 326 — hence the date of the statue must be within the last two years of the Empress's life. The story of St. Helena's chapel, the transport of the soil from Calvary, with the discovery of the Title in the 15th century, are read inscribed on majolica, in Latin of the same century, on the walls of the corridor descending to this chapel. The adjoining Monantery, completely modernised under Benedict XIV, is large and commodious, with spacious corridors, but no cloisters. Its library was removed to the Vatican under the French domination, but restored after the return of Pius VII, with loss, however, of many among the valuable MSS. it once possessed. Its community at present consists of 24 Monks and novices, under a mitred Abbat, who on solemn occasions of-

ficiates, and exhibits the Relics, pontifically vested. One wing of the building stands within the circle of the Amphitheatrum Castrense, half included within the extent of the Honorian walls, whose inner portion is much less perfect than the outer, and whose arcades have been built up, probably in the time of Aurelian, when the whole was converted into a bastion for civic defenses.

The venerable simplicity of the ancient cloistral buildings has been concealed by modern restorers, as anxious to obliterate the antique, here and elsewhere in Rome, as ever was faded Beauty to hide the ravages of time by paint and patchwork. But when one enters the garden behind the church, a totally different impression is received We pass through the portico, all (unfortunately) now left of the old cloisters destroyed under Benedict XIV, with a colonnade of low shafts and rounded arches, whose walls are encrusted with antique epitaphs and sepulchral bas-reliefs, awaking (in the spirit of Paganism) not ideas of death or a future, but of life and the ample past. The garden and vineyard, bounded by the city walls, the Monastery and church, present a scene of quiet and mournful beauty, in the centre of which stands the majestic ruin called by some a Temple of Venus and Cupid, or that of Hope; by others (Platner included), the Nymphaeum of Alexander Severus — an edifice more likely, perhaps, to have been built within an imperial pleasure-ground than any destined for worship (1). Its remains consist of a

(1) Dr. Braun, however, shews reasons for supposing it was a Basilica, or court of judgment, to which the form of the tribune, afterwards copied in the Basilicas for Christian worship, would be suitable. That in this region such a court existed, called the Sessorian, and in the Middle Ages believed a palace, is well attested; and it is recorded that here used to be heard the causes of slaves — probably allowed appeal to this single seat of justice accessible to their class,

vast semicircle, or tribune, pierced by windows, in brick-work of superior description; and the fragments of water-pipes found near, confirm the last-named supposition regarding it. Within the tribune grows profusely the graceful wild plant with gem-like fruit, called « Spanish grape »; vines cover the soil around, but no tree rises above these lofty ruins, standing in isolation picturesquely solemn. About two years ago excavations were made by a private gentleman within these gardens, and some substructures of a mansion discovered, a few fragments of pavement and sculptured ornaments, which became the discoverer's property. Flaminius Vacca (XVI Century) mentions a building entered from these gardens, evidently a primitive place of Christian worship, surrounded by pictures of saints, but then ruinous, and used as a shed by the vine-dressers. Of this, when Montfaucon visited the spot in the year 1701, not any trace remained — a fact showing what was the interest or intelligence for Christian antiquity during the period intervening! Turning to the Basilica, we see on this side a long extent of ancient brick walls, and the high old tower, relieved from all apparent connexion with that hideous modern front. Our indignation against those architects of the last century increases, when we perceive the remains of two aisles entirely cut off from the church, the nave of which was originally flanked by six, instead of (as now) only two aisles, the others, excluded from the new limitation, being completely destroyed. These deserted arcades, on the garden side, are preserved in their

because in a quarter remote from the centre of affairs more important. Accepting this theory, we have another moral contrast to add interest to the site of S. Croce — between the single tribunal open to the miserable slaves of Paganism, and the sanctuary dedicatad to that sign, in which pre-eminently is preached *liberty*, and dissolution of distinctions between bond and free.

entire structure, with square piers, vaults, and rounded arches. Now used as a barn and lumber-place, they seem more melancholy than ruin, in the desecration and abandonment owing to decline of art, want of true feeling for sacred antiquity.

I remember a pleasant morning in the library of this Monastery, that occupies two rooms, the larger a fine lofty hall commanding noble views from its windows. Before entering is observed a statue of Benedict XIV, with eulogistic inscription recording his bounties and visits, also a tablet epigraph to the founder of this library, Ilario Rancuti, Abbot in the XVI century, and to the restorer, another Abbot, Sisto Benigno, whose record is dated 1840. Over the entrance in the principal room, is the admired picture by Carlo Maratta, a copy of which hangs over an altar in the church — the renuntiation of the Antipope Anacletus II, induced by St. Bernard, who here leads the penitent usurper to the feet of the legitimate Pontiff, Innocent II, a finely conceived picture, especially in the figure of the Saint, calmly dignified without any elation at this victory of intellect and holiness. The collection now possesses 15,000 printed volumes, and 500 MSS, but a mere remnant of its wealth anterior to the French occupation under Napoleon I; and here, through the obliging attention of the Monks, I was left at liberty to examine codes and miniatures without restraint. Among volumes of note, I examined the Venerable Bede's Exposition of S. Mark's Gospel in Lombardic characters, IX century, without illuminations; the Old Testament, wanting only the books of Macchabees, dated 1193; a Latin Bible beginning with the Proverbs and ending with the Epistles of St. Paul, but wanting that to the Hebrews, and part of that to Titus, including, however, the four Gospels, and Apocalypse; the text easily legible, with punctuations, and richly illuminated initials, but no miniatures. Though without date, this code

may be supposed anterior to the XII century, from the ruling of the lines with a stylus, *indenting* instead of otherwise marking the parchment, a method that fell into disuse during that century. Other rarities are the « Gesta Jesu Christi ab Imperatore Theodosio inventa in Jerusalem in proctorio Pontii Pilati; » and Cicero's « De Senectute, » finely written by the hand of a Queen, Ippolita Maria, daughter to Francesco Sforza and wife to the king of Naples, purchased in 1723, at Pavia, by the learned Bezozzi (author of the History of S. Croce) who presented it to this library after becoming Abbot here. I was struck by the title of one code (in the true spirit of pious self-abnegation) « Elucidarium, cujus auctor nomen suum hic in terris scrivere noluit, ne deleretur illud in coelo. » A useful index facilitates reference to all these MSS, dividing them into two sections, the older on calfskin, the more modern on paper, among which last are two Italian tragedies, *Creso*, and *Cleopatra*. The church of S. Croce, usually but little frequented, becomes, on two occasions, the scene of affecting and beautiful observances: on the 4th Sunday of Lent, when the Relics are exposed for the Stations, and on Good Friday, whose rites are more impressive here than in almost any other church. The procession of white-robed monks for the adoration of the Cross, and the deep toll of the bell, breaking on the silence, that announces the display of those sacred objects from the balcony, by the mitred Abbot, combine with other details to give a mouroful grandeur to the Good Friday services here; and it may be observed with surprise that, whilst so many are submitting to be crushed among the crowd in the Sistine Chapel, scarcely a single stranger deems this ancient Basilica worth a visit for its most distinctive solemnities on that day.

Carthusians

In the year 1084 St. Bruno founded the first Church and Convent, or rather cells, of his new Order (the idea of which has analogies with the anchorite societies in the deserts) among the wildest solitudes of the mountains near Grenoble not far from the village of Chartreuse, whence their name-in French and Italian *Chartreuse, Certosini* — in English, *Carthusians*. The motives that led Bruno, who was of noble birth, a canon in his native city, Cologne, and noted among learned theologians of his time, thus to abandon society, have been variously alleged; but one report refers it to an incident of striking and awful significance scarcely paralleled in the whole range of medieval legends. In 1082 (it is said) he was present at the obsequies, in Paris, of his friend Raymond Diocre, a distinguished professor of that University: whilst the solemn office for the dead was being chanted, at the words (from the book of Job) *Responde mihi*, the body, suddenly reanimated to life in death, rose from the bier, and in a hallow voice exclaimed; « I am accused before the just Tribunal of God; » under the terrific impression made by this, it was determined to defer the interment; again, on the second day of obsequies, at the same passage was the same movement and voice: «I am judged by the just judgment of God; » and finally, on the third day, after another postponement, the dead, rising once more to ghastly animation, exclaimed: » I am condemned by the just judgment of God. » May we not say that the *idea* of this awful legend reflects itself in the contemplative austerity and profound seclusion distinguishing Carthusian sanctuaries? Six of his friends and scholars at the Paris University, where he tought, did Bruno summon around him, and (all having been present at those terrific obsequies) appeal thence to their devotional

feelings, their sense of the trascendant importance of eternal over transitory things; consequently, agreeing in a common object, they determined to abandon society, and journey to Grenoble, to place themselves under the protection of Hugo, the sainted Bishop of that diocese. The latter, it is said, had, about this time, seen in a dream a mansion built by divine hands in the midst of a wilderness, and it appeared that seven stars, interwoven like a crown, moved before him as if to guide to that mysterious dwelling. Shortly afterwards the seven companions presented themselves prostrate before St. Hugo, whilst Bruno explained the motives of their journey and the resolve they had formed in common. — Such the more poetic and impressive version of the story; but the best attested is that Bruno was induced to quit the commerce of the world by disgust at the degenerate manners of the regular clergy, and in the indignant determination to protest, by the noblest eloquence, that of personal example, against the disorders of monastic communities — or else, that he was led to this resolution by his fear of being raised to the episcopal see of Rheims, after the deposition of the unworthy Prelate who had filled it, and whose vices Bruno had been among the most earnest in condemning. The miraculous legend, of significance so awful, has been rejected by highest authority, even at Rome; originally inserted in the Breviary after the canonization of St. Bruno, it was struck out from the revised edition ordered by Urban VIII (1) about a century later.

(1) This legend, after its rejection from the Breviary, became the subject of a singular controversy: a French Jesuit, Raynaud, wrote to defend it, but was answered by M. de Lannoy in a Latin treatise published 1646, showing that none of the earlier writers of Carthusian Annals have supported the story, and that a MS. record of the first four general superiors of the Order contains no mention of it. The

Certain it is that St. Hugo having extended protection and bestowed land upon this first society of the Order, on the sterile height of Chartreuse, amidst almost perpetual snows, was founded by them, with means the good Bishop supplied, a church called S. Maria de Casalibus, surrounded by cells of the humblest description, each standing apart, where Bruno instituted the austerest contemplative life, placing his followers under the patronage of St. John the Baptist, whose mortifications in the wilderness he desired them to imitate. He injoined perpetual silence, abstinence from flesh throughout the year, manual labour, confinement to the solitary cell, meditation and prayer in hours of darkness. The community originally maintained itself (before the vast possessions afterwards owned had been bestowed upon this Order) by copying devotional books for sale; religious mendicity they never countenanced. Peter the Venerable, visiting the Chartreuse fifty years after its foundation, says: « they

earliest writer to narrate it in positive tone, with full details, was St. Antoninus, in the XV century, when the Chancellor Gersen also alluded to it. Another Jesuit, Colomby, took up the controversy again in defense of the legend, quoting certain authorities for it anterior to the year 1400. The statutes of the Order, published 1510, are preceded by this story with a frontispiece illustrative of it; and the most rational attempt to support it was made by the Carthusian General, Dom Masson, in the « Annales Ord. Carth » (1st vol. 1687), who supposes a different scene for the miraculous event, the house of the deceased instead of a public church, and different witnesses, Bruno and his companions alone, instead of a large congregation — hence accounting for the silence of cotemporaries. This argument only reduces it to claims of a constant tradition, uncertain in origin; and Helyot concludes « on a fort sujet de douter de la vérité du fait. » (see the whole controversy in his historic work, vol. VII, c. LI.) Polidoro Virgilio, on the other hand, narrates the marvellous story as matter of fact (*De Rerum Invent.* l. VII, c. III).

are the poorest monks I have ever known, and their mode of life is such as to terrify; they mortify the flesh by fasting almost continual — praying, reading, labouring etc. » Their stricter fasts — as every Friday, and twice a week in Lent and Advent — their rule obliges them to observe on a diet of bread, salt, and water. With asceticism strangely in defiance of the maxims of the warld, they were even required, five times every year, to submit to *bleeding* (the lay-brothers only four times), but on those days had additional allowanees for food! One of their boldest innovations, as if to challenge the spirit of self-sacrifice to the utmost, was the obligation imposed upon novices, even when unable to continue under a discipline so severe, of *never* returning into the world, but only leaving their cloisters to enter some other Order! On ordinary days they can only quit their cells to attend the services of the church, but, with a just feeling for the claims of sorrow, on the day a death occurs in their community, this confinement is dispensed with, and all remain together, to console each other and reflect on the great event of mortality. Then also, as on festivals, they meet at table in the common refectory, but otherwise each takes every meal in his cell, where he is provided with books, tools for working in his little garden, and, if desired, the implements of any mechanic industry he may practise. Their original churches contained only one altar, to which afterwards was added a second by express sanction — thus tending to a simplicity of ritual observances now widely departed from. Nor were females originally, as now, excluded from those churches; though this principle became afterwards so rigorous that the General Chapter, in 1418, imposed severe penance on the Carthusian Prior at Paris for having admitted the Queen into his monastery! — but (adds Helyot) such severity would no longer be carried out, *royal* ladies being now, though very rarely, allowed to visit Car-

thusian cloisters. This Order, instituted at the period of that degeneration in ecclesiastical manners reformed mainly through the exertions of Gregory VII, was not of rapid growth, and for many years never possessed more than four establishments, the community in each of which was limited to 14 monks and 16 laybrothers, the latter residing in separate buildings lower down thon the mountain height at which their principal sanctuaries stood. But, as the Grande Chartreuse continually rose in importance and celebrity, through sanctity of observance, hospitality to strangers and charities to the poor, its inmates eventually increased to 55 monks, as many laybrothers, and more than 140 domestics, all supported by revenues then estimated at 36,000 livres per annum, scarcely sufficient for the expenses and bounties of this great Carthusian centre. When the Revolution broke over the Church and the world, in the last century, the Carthusian Monasteries in all Europe were 172, of which about 75 in France, and 5 for females, divided over 16 provinces, each superintended, for ecclesiastical interests, by two visitors chosen annually. A branch of Oblates, called « Rendus, » was affiliated to this Order in the XIII century, forming separate establishments, exclusively of laics, but with one ecclesiastic (who could not be above the deaconate, however) in each, being mainly dedicated to agriculture — a proof of the practically useful tendencies of this institution in its earlier phases. The statutes reformed in 1676 suppressed these separate communities, while still allowing laics to be received as Oblates, under modified observance of the rule, less severe for these latter than for the fathers or professed laybrothers.

« The Carthusians (says Voltaire) entirely consecrate themselves to fasting, silence, solitude and prayer; perfectly tranquil in the midst of a tumultuous world, the din of which scarcely even reaches their ears. » Their cells are

built at equal distances, round their cloister, each containing just sufficient (without superfluity) for the existence of one solitary inmate — a little chamber with a fireplace (allowed on account of the cold to which a mauntainous situation exposes most of their establishments) a chapel, another cabinet for sleeping, a store-place for wood or instruments of labour, and a little garden in front. Their meals are introduced through a window, except on those festivals when alone they are allowed to meet in a common refectory-but never with dispensation from the rule of silence. Except at certain seasons during which they are allowed, once a week, to leave the Monastery, they can only quit their cells for the office at midnight, for the conventual High Mass and for vespers, their superior alone being exempt from this restraint. The Order was confirmed by Alexander III. in 1167, and holds its general Chapters at the *Grande Chartreuse*, where resides the general superior, who has the title of Prior, appointed for life.

The Canonization of St. Bruno did not take place till exactly 413 years after his death, when those honours were decreed to him by Leo X. (1) He had been called from his solitude, with great reluctance on his part, to assist in the

(1) The circumstances of this canonization were extraordinary, and evince the progress of what might be called *evangelic* rationalism very different from that of schismatic or philosophic schools. Leo X was so touched by the proofs of his virtues, that he dispensed with all investigation into miracles ascribed to St. Bruno, living or dead, and at once, with a moral courage rarely exemplified in such causes, ordered that the festival of his anniversary should be kept by his Order, his name invoked and altars dedicated to him throughout Christendom — honours extended for the religious observances of the whole Church, by Gregory XV, who inserted the original office of St. Bruno in the Breviary, rendering his festival universal.

counsels of the Pope, Urban II, who had such high esteem for him, that he required, in virtue of obedience, this sacrifice for the interests of ecclesiastical affairs. The Archbishopric of Reggio, offered him by that Pope, he persistently refused; and at last, on the departure of Urban for France, was allowed to quit the uncongenial atmosphere of a court, and retire to another solitude in Calabria, where, in the territory of Squilace, he inhabited, with a band of followers, cells similar to those of Chartreux, and received donation from Ruggiero, Count of Sicily, first of a church, then of a monastery already dedicated to St. James, with means, at the same time liberally bestowed, for building here another church near a grotto, which the Saint chose for his cell. Count Ruggiero entertained the higbest regard for the holy man, and frequently took counsel of him, during the remainder of his life, which came to close in this monastery, numerous followers having gradually surrounded him here. The « Perfetto Leggendario » gives account of several miracles that attested his sanctity soon after death.

Among monastic edifices those of the Carthusians have been celebrated, either for beauty of architecture or impressive grandeur of situation. In Italy, the most magnificent of their sanctuaries is near Pavia; and Trisulti (near Alatri) their noviciate, in the Papal States, stands with a magnificent church in a solitude amidst horrid rocks and mountain gorges. The *Grande Chartreuse*, so often sung by poets and described by tourists (See Beckford's fine description, a master-piece of its kind, and Lamartine's « Méditations) » after being destroyed by fire not less than six times — once in the religious wars of the XVI century, and lastly in 1676 — has risen again and again from its ashes in pristine majesty, amidst the same awful solitude. The splendours of the Pavia Certosa are approached, though on much smaller scale, in costliness at least (without rivalship in ar-

chitectural beauty) by that at Naples, for the works of art and decoration in whose church these fathers spent more than 500,000 crowns during the period of a single priorate. A Cross surmounting a globe is the device of their Order (chosen by the eleventh in its series of generals) with the motto, *Stat Crux dum volvitur orbis.* Before the Reformation this Order had considerable establishments in England, as that dedicated to « Jesus of Bethlehem » on the Thames in Surry, founded 1414, by Henry V, and that in London, founded by Sir Walter Manny, afterwards converted into a college known as the Charter house, whose former monastic inmates were among the first victims of the Reformation. In Scotland they had a residence near Perth, founded by James I, 1430, said to have been the most beautiful Abbey in that country, but totally swept away by the reformers! In Paris the ancient Palace of king Dogobert was assigned by St. Louis to Carthusians, who took possession of it in 1257. — The original constitutions of St. Bruno have been, at different periods, remodelled, and that modification of them now in observance dates from 1578, when they were revised by a committee of Cardinals. These reformed statutes were a return to the olden discipline of the Order, retaining a rite peculiar to themselves, and various mortifications systmatically imposed. Sackeloth and a girdle of cord next the naked skin, a bed of straw, serge and woollen only for the dress — such are the provisions allowed for each Carthusian. Their costume is entirely white, with a black cloak and cowl for using abroad; the head closely shaven, except a narrow rim of hair, left to encircle it like a fillet.

Many ecclesiastical writers have been given to the Church from this Order, among whom St. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, canonized in 1220, and Denis Rikel, called the « Extatic Doctor. » None of their number has ascended the Papal throne, though Urban II was, in one sense, the pupil of St. Bruno, and

comparatively speaking, not many Carthusians have been canonized, owing to their total seclusion, withdrawing from celebrity even in spiritual things. Nevertheless a *Bibliotheca* of their distinguished writers was published by one of this Order, in 1609, which has subsequently received additions. Since 1431 their Procurator General has always resided in Rome, to his office being now united that of Prior at *S. Maria degli Angioli*, the only Carthusian Monastery where exception is made from their rule in allowing females to enter the Church — not here, as elsewhere, within the cloistral enclosure. The Carthusian sanctuary here is placed most suitably, amid the sites of Rome's vanished glories, to awaken moral reflection, and contemplate, in their monuments, the Genius of Paganism opposed to that of Christianity. An Order thus absolutely cut off from the world's intercourse, could not have chosen a spot more in harmony with its spirit. It was this Monastery that suggested Madame de Stael's reflections: « Il semble que la vie ne servé là qu'à contempler la mort — les hommes qui existent ainsi sont pourtant les mêmes à qui la guerre et toute son activité suffiraient à peine s'ils y'étaient accoutumés. C'est un sujet inépuisable de reflexion que les differentes combinaisons de la destinée humaine sur la terre. Il se passe dans l'intérieur de l'âme mille accidens, il se forme mille habitudes, qui font de chaque individu un monde et son histoire. » — Great is the difference between the crowded churches in fashionable quarters of Rome, and this silent temple amid the ruins of Diocletian's Thermae, remote from any populous street, and opening on a wide grass-grown common shaded by long avenues of trees, overlooked only by a few isolated villas and the grey walls of a neighbouring convent, besides those vast fragments of the Thermae, like a colossal skeleton — a phantom of the Past. Among the public Baths of ancient Rome, those erected by the two jointly reigning Emperors, in the latter

years of the III century, surpassed all in vastness and magnificence. Hither was transferred the celebrated Ulpian Library from the Forum of Trajan; and in the hall of the Pinacotheca was formed a superb collection of paintings and sculptures. Montfaucon mentions that the Prior assured him, nearly 200 columns had been carried away from these ruins before or since the construction of the cloisters. He also speaks of the subterraneans, no longer accessible, that correspond in extent with the church above them; and Flaminius Vacca describes the fortuitous discovery, within his own recollections, of a vaulted underground chamber containing 18 busts of philosophers, which may have adorned the library or exedra, and all eventually passed into the possession of a Cardinal Farnese. The marble incrustations, used for restoring the building since Buonarotti's erection, are all from the remains of the Thermae, a considerable portion of which is now enclosed in the garden of the Bernardine Monastery opposite. But to the primitive Christians these structures possessed an interest unintelligible to the Pagan, for it was by the labours of 40,000 Christian slaves that they were raised — a company out of whom many sealed their profession of faith with their blood, and some, as Ciriacus, Sisinnius and Smaragdus, are still remembered, and honoured by name in sacred offices. Ciriacus, a deacon, is said to have converted Serena, the wife of Diocletian, and, for his zeal in promoting the faith, suffered in the persecution under that Emperor, together with several others, A. D. 303. To him was raised a Church near these Thermae at an early period; and St. Bruno, when in Rome, had a Convent assigned to him, on or near this spot; but the consecration of these ruins themselves to Christian worship, was not till 1551.

About 24 years previously had arrived in Rome a zealous Sicilian priest, Antonio del Duca, who brought with

him from Palermo copies of ancient pictures in the Church of S. Angiolo, representing the seven Archangels, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel, Sanbiel, Gendiel, and Borachiel, towards which celestial beings it was his great object to promote piety among the Romans; and not without difficulty he obtained permission to have their pictures attached to the columns still erect in these Thermae, with the name of each Archangel inscribed below. Ten years later, Julius III allowed the ruins to be consecrated under dedication to *St. Mary of the Angels*. But as neither the primitive Church nor the Council of Trent had sanctioned the worship of Angels under these seven denominations, and Pope St. Zacchary (748) had expressly prohibited their invocation under any other than the three names given in the Scriptures — Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael — it was ordered by Pius IV that the effigies placed here by Del Duca should be removed, and the names cancelled. The same Pontiff commissioned Michelangiolo to reduce the great oblong, supposed the Pinacotheca of the Thermae, into a Church, the ruins here presenting advantages which such a Master could not fail to use felicitously. This hall was supported by 8 columns of granite with arcades, opening on six vast recesses, suitable for lateral chapels, and four similar vans remained at the opposite extremities of the oblong. One of these Buonarrotti opened into a magnificent portico of Greek style; the opposite, at the end of the nave, he converted into the tribune for a high altar. The great wings one communicating with a rotunda, the other terminating in a semicircle, he transformed, the one into an atrium for a lateral entrance, the other into a spacious chapel. Two other recesses he closed up, but left four open in the state of ruin, to be subsequently restored for chapels. On account of damp it was unfortunately necessary to raise the pavement, concealing not less than 6 feet of the granite columns. The Church was dedicated by Pius IV,

in 1561, and consigned to the Carthusians, transferred hither from Santa Croce. In this condition it continued till 1749, when the desire to add a chapel dedicated to the Beato Niccolò Albergati, induced a total change of Buonarrotti's plan that must be for ever regretted, injurious to the grandeur, simplicity and harmony of the whole.

The whole edifice now received quite a different aspect; the lateral became the principal and only entrance, and the altar of the Madonna, formerly the smallest and least important, became the high altar. The chapel of St. Bruno, adapted by Michelangiolo's design for the high altar, became a lateral one, and the whole church was rendered cruciform. Eight additional columns were also admitted, of brick coated with stucco, and for uniformity, the granite shafts of the antique ones were now concealed by a similar covering, one of the most tasteless details in this trasformation. Vanvitelli was the architect to whom was assigned the invidious task; and so ill was his design accomplished that, at this day, the closed archways above the columns may be distinctly seen, owing to the crumbling away of the stucco with common-place ornamental painting, above. The dimensions of the Church, however, and the leading features not destroyed from Buonarroti's design, secure it still a character *grandiose*, and expressive of majestic gravity. The spiritual admnistrations of the Carthusians being confined to their own community, neither confessional nor pulpit is seen within these walls. Neglect is too apparent, externally and internally and it seems a reproach to such an edifice to have its sole entrance left in the present forlorn decay, its lofty ceiling and the stuccoed columns rendered unseemly by abrasures and other disfigurements over their surface. In the rotunda serving as vestibule, are four monuments and epitaphs of interest, one to Cardinal Parisio di Corenza:

Corpus humo tegitur
Famâ per ora volat
Spiritus astra tenet

The other to Cardinal Alciato: — Virtute vixit, memoria vivit, gloria vivet.

Were these high and truly religious eulogies deserved, one asks, naturally desiring affirmative answer. Of Parisio all the information I can find is, that he was a distinguished doctor of law, created Cardinal in 1539; of Alciato, that he was also professor of law, at Milan, and had, among his pupils, St. Carlo Borromeo, through whose interest being called to Rome, he was created Bishop and Cardinal, by Pius IV after acting as internuncio in Bohemia; that he enjoyed a reputation alluded to by an Italian treatise on the excellence of learning, styling him, « the ornament of his age, the support of literature a true model of virtue and erudition.»

Under a monument raised by himself, lies Carlo Maratta, whose epitaph records the honours paid to his genius, and his devotion to the Blessed Virgin, attested by so many Madonna pictures by him in Rome. « Carlo delle Madonne,» as he was called from his perference for that subject, who died (1713) an octogenarian, surrounded by « all that should accompany old age, » was pupil of Andrea Sacchi; he had endeavoured to form his manner on that of Raphael, and here enjoyed unrivaled reputation in his day, being considered by many the last of the Romans in Art. The next monument is to Salvator Rosa, with a bust marked rather by the *bonhomie* of a humorist than the light of genius. One many excluse extravagant eulogy of an epitaph styling him « second painter of his time and equal to the princes among poets of all times, » seeing it was dictated by a son. In a niche near stands the colossal statue of St. Bruno by Houdon (a French sculptor of the last century) a noble figure informed with

the highest religious expression, seeming to announce, in its calm abstraction,

« Depths of a being sealed and severed from mankind. » Clement XIV. said of this statue that « it would speak, if the rule of his Order did not impose silence; » but the thought that broods in that downcast head appears of a nature requiring high and fervent *action*, not words, for its full and final manifestation. The opposite statue, St. John the Baptist, is scarce worth a glance in such proximity. Many large paintings, the originals of mosaics at St. Peter's, render this church a museum of Italian Art of the XVII and XVIII centuries; but, with much merit in what pertains to the technical, there is, in most of these, a character academic, frigid, and without high ideality, precursor of that modern school, whose productions are so little satisfactory, that perhaps no great capital in Europe presents less to interest in the modern forms of religious Art (sculpture excepted) than Rome. The inspiring Genius seems here departed from the sanctuary, and the high traditions fallen into oblivion. Compare these pictures with any sacred theme by Pietro Perugino or Francia; and no connecting link will be found to unite them. Dominichino's Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, the most celebrated in this church, of complicated grouping and great dramatic effect, totally departs from historic realities. Justly deemed the masterpiece of Muziano (an earlier artist, 1528-92) is the finely individualised group of SS. Jerome, Bruno, and Francis, conversing in the midst of a solitary landscape, whose wildly romantic scenery is by Paul Brill — admirably harmonious with the moral effect of the composition. Treviani's cartoon of « Baptism by Desire » is a striking and original conception of its subject, the ideal illustration of a Sacrament in its anticipation by faith. An altar-peice by Graziano of the Beato Niccolo Albergati converting bread

into coal (a miracle by which he is said to have convinced the German Emperor of his divine mission and powers) may, though an indifferent picture, awaken interesting reminiscences of that sainted Carthusian, a Cardinal, who was sent as Nuncio by Martin V, in 1422, in the object of effecting reconciliation between Charles VI of France and Henry V of England, and to the success of whose mission has been ascribed the peace that ensued between those belligerents. He sustained the office of legate in England, Germany, and different states of Italy; presided at the Council of Basle, and afterwards (abandoning the former assemblage when he considered its tendencies schismatic) held a distinguished post in that of Florence. One time Archbishop of Bologna, the palace of that See was endowed with a valuable library by this beatified Carthusian. The most ably treated historic scene, among the pictures here, is by a French artist, Subleyras (engaged much under Benedict XIV) — the Mass of St. Basil, and the early annals of the eastern Church could scarcely afford a finer subject than that here presented, in a manner Lanzi and other critics have highly praised. St. Basil the Great was desired by the Arian Emperor Valens to celebrate in his cathedral of Cesarea according to the Arian ritual. He disobeyed, though threatened with exile and death; and at last Valens resolved to interfere in person; surrounded by his guards, and with all his state, he entered the Church on the Epiphany, whilst Basil was celebrating, but the Saint, absorbed in his sacred office, took no notice of him, and the ministers around the altar dared not to receive from his hands, lest Basil should refuse, the usual oblations of bread and wine at the offertory. Valens, thus finding himself rejected at the altar and humbled in the sight of his subjects, lost all self-command, trembled and swooned, falling into the arms of his attendants. What the Art of the present day in Rome can attain is shown by the figure of a Carthusian in his cell, lifelike to a degree that startles, painted by Balbi on a wall in the cloisters.

Partly concealed by the painting of the walls, is a door from the end of the nave leading into one of the immense recesses cut off from the Church by Vanvitelli's plan; and it is worth seeking admission to observe the massive construction of the Thermae, here almost untouched by decay. Christian Rome has few architectural scenes finer than the great cloisters of this Monastery, designed by Michelangiolo. One hundred Doric columns of lightly graceful shafts, with rounded arches, sustain an upper story carried round this vast quadrangle, the interior of which is laid out in gardens, excepting the planted enclosure, at one angle, whose column surmounted by an iron cross, announces that here is the last resting place of St. Bruno's austere followers. Four cypresses; that peculiarly symbolic tree, stand around the ample reservoir of a fountain, in the centre, planted by the hand of the same great artist, who built both cloisters and Church. Fit guardians of religious solitude, these funereal trees rise to extraordinary height, except one, an off-shoot only from the original trunk unfortunately perished; a multitude of closely adhering stems shoot erect like the clustering columns of a Gothic temple; while other ramifications from a gnarled trunk fantastically bend in the same direction, as if thus beaten by the tempests of ages. No part of the Thermae can be seen from these cloisters; all is of Christian association; and the narrow doors of the cells open from the covered corridor on each side. Another smaller cloister, planted with orange-trees, though not to be compared in beauty with the larger, has the same calm and seclusion; and three singular piles of ruin, like blasted towers, overlook this retreat, in striking contrast to its quiet simplicity. A large portion of the building has been assigned to French soldiers — a strange *rapprochement* beside the silent, white-robed monks, who during the late troubles were left quite unmolested, though a part of their premises was assign-

ed, by the revolutionary government, as a hospital for aged invalids, an appropriation which continued, for some time, after the Papal restoration. But French soldiers alone now share occupation of these cloisters with the monks; and at one period (if not permanently) the rule was dispensed with by the latter in regard to the office at midnight, for suiting the convenience of these guests so strangely contrasted with the self-mortified followers of St. Bruno — thus has invasion caused the soldier to be considered above the monk! Still, though numerically declined, the Carthusian is among the wealthier religious Orders, and in some parts of Italy owns considerable property in land and cattle. The Certosa near Florence, at the time of the suppression in 1808, was estimated, with all its possessions comprising 83 farms and many forests, at 2,600,000 francs; every day were alms distributed at its gates, and, once a year, a hundred poor were clothed ont of a fund bequeathed in ancient times to that Monastery (1) — a fair specimen of Charthusian beneficence generally. But, witheld from immediate action for spiritual interests on society by the rigid nature of a rule aiming at the contemplative life exclusively, and not required either to preach, or (out of their own communities) even hear confessions, these monks may now be compared to a dim seen appearance in the distance, a picturesque but subordinate accessory of the ecclesiastical grouping. Only about 20, fathers and laybrothers, form the community here; and recently visiting the Florentine Certosa, I ascertained that those extensive and beautifully placed buildings are now occupied by 12 fathers, as many laics, and in the novitiate, only one! At Rome it is only on St. Bruno's festival (6th October) when fine music accompanies

(1) Archivio of Florence, where all documents referring to it are fonnd.

the rites still solemnised with peculiarities retained from olden precedent by this Order, that anything like a congregation is seen in their church. Recollections, indeed, may go back to a day when these old walls resounded to a solemnity attended with extraordinary interest and unwonted thronging — when exultant music and fervid eloquence seemed alike expressive of the hopes and aspirations then wakening the Eternal City to renovated life. It was on the 5th May 1847, first celebration of the namesday of Pius IX; a chorus of 200 voices swelled the strains of sacred music to brilliant instrumentation, and an able preacher, Lorini of Cortona, dwelt on the happy auguries for religion, progress, justly understood liberty, to be drawn from the brightly promising initiatives of the new Pontificate! S. Maria degli Angeli *then*, and *now*, may be considered as alike offering a type of the two epochs in modern Rome! At present the daily High Mass, a simply chanted service, in an inner chapel, where females are not admitted, is less attended even than other celebrations here.

Rich in ornament and relics, is a chapel where, on the Station day in Lent, is a display of skulls and bones swathed in tawdry trappings, thet may shock the feeling of many — a class of exhibitions not uncommon in Rome, that, if it may impress certain im aginations, seems, from some points of view, little consentaneous with truly reverential regards for the Dead. That type of human nature to which the Carthusean Order proves attractive might be supposed decreasing, from the general decline of this institution; but the fact may be confronted by another of opposite significance — the comparative augmentation, in the Papal States at least, of the Camaldulese, an Order in many respects so analogous. One is accustomed, however, to hear of the Certosa, in the vicinity of Italian cities, as a once magnificent establishment now deserted (the Pavia sanctuary excepted, this being still in

every sense important) with beautiful church and cloisters no longer occupied by residents, as in the neighbourhood of Milan, Ferrara, Bologna, the Carthusian premises long abandoned by the monks, near the two latter cities, being amplified into public cemetaries, classed, for their beauty and vastness, among the celebraties of public foundation and adornnmant. To turn to the art-illustration which, in the story of Religious Orders, forms an accessory by no means least interesting — we observe that as, in the Cistercian subjects, the figure of St. Bernard is paramount, and his story most effectively treated by painting, so, in the Carthusian, that of St. Bruno, under its legendary aspects, is chosen by art as the special representative of his Order. Both being always in white vestments, they are otherwise distinguished from each other by action or symbols. In the series of Monastic Founders at St. Peter's the statue of St. Bruno appears with skull, book, and scourge, refusing the mitre and crozier (i. e. the Archbishoprie of Reggio) offered by a little Angel. The most perfect illustration of his story is in the 22 frescoes at the Louvre, by Lesueur, who spent great part of his life among the Carthusians, to imbue his mind with the spirit and expression of his subject, and at last retired to breathe his last surrounded by those fathers. Another admirable series is by Crespi, in the church of the deserted Certosa, Cariglia-no, near Milan, among which the picture of the reanimation at the funeral is truly a marvel of Art. Never shall I forget the impression received when visiting that spot one summer evening, silence and solitude adding to the solemnity of the scene, from this wonderful picture, — life in death so terrifically embodied, that one feels in the position of actual spectator before that dread reality. It is of this sanctuary that Petrarch writes, giving a pleasingaccount of its inmates and his frequent intercourse with them during his residence at the quiet villa near, still preserved, and where he de-

scribes his tranquil studious life in a manner so fascinating: see his Familiar Epistles, lib. X, 12.

Vallombrosans

The branch of the Benedictine Order, named from its most celebrated Monastery, Vallombrosan, owes its origin to one the story of whose sudden conversion from a worldly to a religious life, in the XI century, offers a subject truly dramatic in pathos, alike suitable for Art, poetry, or devout meditation. Giovanni Gualberto, of a noble and wealthy Florentine family, was a young man highly educated and accomplished, but abandoned to dissolute courses. His brother Hugo had fallen victim in some broil with another family of the same city, and Giovanni resolved to avenge his death in blood; nor had to wait long for opportunity. In a narrow way on the ascent from Florence to the Abbey of S. Miniato, the homicide was met by the enraged brother, who drew his sword against the life he had sworn, urged by every motive of injured pride, family honour and wounded affection, to destroy. But instead of resisting, the offender fell at his feet, stretched out his arms in form of a cross, and conjured him in the name of Jesus Christ, the memory of whose dread Passion was that day celebrated by all believes (for it was Good Friday) to spare the defenseless life at his merey. That action and appeal wrought in the mind of Gualberto one of those inward miracles so frequent in medieval annals of sanctity. He raised from the ground, embraced, and sublimely forgave the enemy by whom his house had been thrown into mourning. Most natural was it that, after the triumph of such a conflict, worldly pleasures and prospects should have no more charms — no path save the road to Heaven could any longer attract the mind thus past through a tempest that had purified, a transition that had regenerated. He proceeded

to the Abbey still crowning that height above beautiful Florence; prayed fervently (and surely wept) before its altar; then entering its cloister, knelt before the Abbot, entreating to be immediately clad in the habit of a Benedictine. But that superior fearing displeasure from his powerful family, at first consented only to receive him as a postulant, in the class of those who observed all the discipline of monastic houses before taking the habit or obligations of the novitiate. After a few days, however, Gualberto secretly procured the religious garb, and gave himself the tonsure with his own hand. A subject for Art would be that scene of the young enthusiast (suppposed to have been then only 18) thus consecrating himself at the altar of that venerable church, in presence of the cowled brotherhood, who looked on approvingly whilst taking no immediate part in the singular rite! His father reproached, expostulated, but at last consented to his religious profession; and Giovanni became, of all in that community, the most noted for piety and self-devotedness, so that, on the death of the superior, he was chosen successor by those Monks, but he refused, determined to avoid even such honours, and fled, first to Camaldoli, where more austere life was observed. The eremites of that sanctuary wished him to join their Order, but this he was not disposed for — Mabillon supposes because preferring the cenobite life — and thence proceeded to the forests of the neighbouring mountains; where, on the spot since so celebrated as Vallombrosa, with one (or two) who had accompained him, he spent seven years in profound solitude, amidst the primeval woods of that mountain-glen,— as thus had many other great leaders in the religious life of old prepared themselves to influence the world by a long probation in total severance from it, and learned to appreciate earthly things by complete renunciation of their enjoyment. Eventually becoming surrounded by the disciples who, in medieval Christianity, never failed to as-

semble, more or less numerously, under these masters of the penitential life, whose example was so striking, about the year 1023, Gualberto raised a set of humble cells, prescribing for his community the cenobite observance, and in a hospice apart receiving novices whom he subjected to the most mortifying ordeals, after a year of austerities and menial services enjoining them, as final probation, to remain three days prostrate on the ground, in unbroken silence and meditation on the Passion. The Abbess of a neighbouring Nunnery, S. Ellero (or Hilary) sent them food and books, and bestowed the land on which they had settled, in return for which she obtained the right of nominating the superior to their house, and a yearly tribute, consisting of a pound of wax and another of oil; but which former privilege (showing how high the claims of those cloistral ladies) was soon set aside by Pope Victor II, to leave the monks freedom of election in their own community. Their new Order was approved by Alexander II, in 1070, together with its Rule, the Benedictine, with certain clauses added by Gualberto, its founder and first Abbot, who lived to establish four other Monasteries. Such the Saint's charity towards the poor, that for them he frequently emptied the store-houses of his cloister; such his humility, that he would never receive any, even the minor Orders, deeming himself unworthy to exercise the humblest functions of the priesthood.

On one occasion, learning that a novice, received into another house of his followers, had made donation of considerable property to the prejudice of his heirs, he instantly went, demanded to see the document conferring riches on his own Order, tore it to pieces, and prayed that the vengeance of Heaven might fall on that house which had dared thus to pervert the high and pure intentions of religious dedication! After he had left that monastery, it is said, a conflagration immediately broke out, and altogether

consumed it. An event is believed to have added greatly to the credit, and accelerated the growth of his Order, whose reality (supernatural though it be) seems attested by evidence that need not shrink from any historic verification. The Bishop of Florence, Pietro di Pavia, was accused of being simoniac, and certainly a character little suited to his high place: in holy indignation Gualberto appeared on a piazza of the city publicly to denounce him; for this he, and the monks who sustained the charge, were persecuted with violence; troops were sent to drag them from their sanctuary, and support that unworthy pastor by armed force. As triumphant evidence, to that age's faith, was proposed the fiery ordeal, which Gualberto's followers were ready to meet; but the Bishop refused. In the Lent of 1067, a multitude of every class, numbering 8000, moved from Florence to the monastery of Settimo (seven miles distant — hence its name) in expectation of the solemn trial the monks had determined upon. In mournful chanting the *Kyrie eleison* swelled from the vast chorus of voices, as they surrounded the church while Mass was celebrated by the father who had taken upon himself the terrific responsibility — Pietro of the Aldobrandini house, afterwards made Cardinal and Bishop of Albano by Gregory VII. Calmly he officiated in the holy rite, and at the Agnus Dei, two brethren lit the pyres heaped up, two piles of wood each ten feet long, before the church door. Pietro then advanced, in alb and stole, barefooted, the Crucifix in his hand, and after an impressive prayer to Christ, passed into the flames amid which he remained completely hidden, till emerging; he was seen, still gazing on the Crucifix as before, without any injury to a hair of his head! The people set no bounds to their rapture, kissing his hands, feet, and dress, prostrating before him, and finally joining in an exulting hymn of praise to God for the mysterious victory! The event was fully reported to Alexan-

der II, who deposed the Bishop, accepting the proofs against him as irrefragable (1); and the hero of that day was canonized, becoming known, in reference to this event, as S. Pietro Igneo.

Leo IX, moved by the fame of Gualberto's sanctity, made a pilgrimage to Passignano, at the foot of the mountains of Vallombrosa, expressly to see and converse with this holy man. It was in the monastery there that Gualberto died, aged 64, in 1073; and 20 years afterwards his canonization was published by Celestine III. Within the first century of its existence the Order possessed more than 50 Abbeys, whose superiors held at first for life the office afterwards limited to only four years, and were allowed the episcopal insignia; with title of Counts of Monte Verde and Gualdo, they sat in the Florentine senate, and were Apostolic Judges for the taxation due to the Holy See in that diocese and the Fiesolan. This was the first Benedictine congregation into which persons simply laic were admitted as *conversi*, without passing into any holy Orders; and for one century existed an affiliated Order of lay Nuns, in convents each presided by a *converso* or professed Vallombrosan laybrother, always of advanced age, who lived upon their own property which, it seems, they renounced, except for this usufruct, to the monasteries in exchange for protection. These Helyot concludes to have belonged to the class in voluntary servitude.

The only Monastery of Vallombrosans in Rome, occupied by their Order since 1198, occupies the site of a church built

(1) See the graphic description by Helyot, vol. V, c 28; and also the evidence of an historian by no means open to charges of credulity or ecclesiastic partisanship, Maimbourg, « Histoire de la Décadence, » The deposed Bishop became penitent, and entered that very monastery of Vallombrosans where his cause had been thus defeated, his simoniac election attested preternaturally.

by St. Pius I, in the II century, over the residence of a noble matron, daughter of that Senator Pudens who was converted by St. Paul, mentioned in his Epistle to Timothy, and of Claudia, whose father was the British Caractacus. She being denounced to the Emperor Antoninus for having given asylum and succour to many Christians in time of persecution, it was ordered that all found there should he slain in her house; and 23 were martyred, probably before her sight, whose remains she buried in the Catacombs of S. Priscilla, after collecting their blood with sponges. The horrors she had witnessed overwhelmed her womanly spirit, and she prayed to he released from a world where violence could thus prevail. Nor was that release long delayed; and in the same vault, or well, where she had deposited the martyrs' blood, Prassede (or Praxedis) was buried. The first restoration of this primitive Basilica was about the end of the VIII century, by St. Adrian I; the second by Paschal I, who completely rebuilt it, between 817-24. Its principal front was reduced to the present state, about 1564, by the Cardinal Titular, St. Carlo Borromeo, but a porch with two granite columns is one of the few monuments left in Rome of the X century. By St. Carlo was ordered most of the decoration, in the interior, except the frescoes of the nave, belonging to the 17th, and some restorations of the 18th century. Entering, one receives a disappointing impression from this ancient church, the modern additions having obscured, not restored antiquity here, as in so many churches alike defaced in this city. The frescoes of the Passion, the colossal figures of the Apostles on the square piers, and Angels above the arcades on a whitewashed attic, are out of keeping with the architecture and general tone, whose gravity they impair by an effect of patchwork and gaudiness. Of 24 granite columns, dividing the nave and aisles, only 16, supporting architraves, are now visible — the rest built up with-

in heavy piers, by one of those deformations so often perpetrated in modern Roman architecture. At the extremity of one aisle, left of the portal, is a granite slab, set in the wall, on which St. Praxedis used to spend the night, as represented in a small picture above, where an Angel appears to her asleep on this hard couch. A puteal, or well-head, marks the spot where she used to collect the blood of martyrs; and here she is represented, engaged in that act, by a painted wooden figure, quite unworthy the dignity of its subject.

Galleries, added in the 16th century fill up the transepts, thus depriving the church of two important members, the white marble columns supporting these being of singular description, and noticed by Platner as almost unexemplified in the antique, their fluted shafts divided into 4 members each surrounded by acanthus leaves, their capitals with clustering bands of ivy. The interesting mosaics of the IX century, in the apse and above the chancel arch, though several times retouched, have lost nothing essential to their original character. Above the arch, in the centre, is the New Jerusalem, represented by circular walls whose surface is gold studded with gems — an idea (as, indeed, that of the whole mystic composition) from the Apocalypse. In this enclosure stands the Saviour holding a globe with a cross, and at each side, an Archangel: below, in formally arranged groups, fifteen Saints each offering a leafy crown, at once sign and reward of martyrdom, and three other figures, standing above the rest — an Angel with outspread wings holding a book, the records to be opened at the last Judgment, and similarly attired Saints. The gates of the City, at the extremities, are guarded by majestic Angels in white vestments, and externally stand groups, also with crowns in their hands, of both sexes, two, nearest the entrance, between whom stands an Angel, recognised by the type of heads as St. Pe-

ler and St. Paul, but without any symbols. The ground beneath is carpeted with flowers; every detail is intended to represent the state of glory and beatitude. Below are other goups of martyrs waving palms, or offering crowns, as on their way to the heavenly city. Within the apse is a majestic colossal figure of the Saviour; standing amdist bright clouds, above which appears a hand stretched to place on his head a golden crown with a large gem in the centre. At each side, lower, stands a figure in long white robes, presenting the well known types (that seem never to have totally disappeared from Christian Art) of Saints Peter and Paul, each presenting to the Saviour a young and magnificently dressed female, St. Praxedis and her sister Pudentiana, both wearing diadems and offering crowns, their costume probably that of noble Roman ladies in the IX., if not of an earlier century. Beyond these, at one side, stands the Pope, Paschal I, offering a model of his church, the square halo around his head indicating (according to conventionalities) that he was alive when this figure was executed; at the other side, a young ecclesiastic with a richly bound volume of the Gospels, is supposed to be St. Zeno. The Jordan, typifying Baptism, flows at their feet, and palms terminate the group at each end, on the branches of which tree stands the Phenix, symbol of Resurrection. Above the archivolt appears the Lamb of God between seven lighted candelabra, seated on a jewelled throne also supporting the Cross; four Angels and the winged symbols of the Evangelists on the same level; and below, the four and twenty elders, dressed uniformly in white, stretching out their crowns towards the Lamb in adoration. On a frieze below the group in the apse, is again introduced the Divine Lamb accompanied by the twelve sheep typifying the Apostles; at the extremities the mystic cities, Jerusalem and Bethlehem; and underneath, verses in letters of gold recording the construc-

tions and the piety of Pope Pascal, who ordered these valuable mosaics, the finest of that age. In their composition the artistic character is decidedly drawn from antiquity: the simplicity of draperies in long massive folds, the quiet dignity of attitude, and formal arrangement of grouping reminding one of sculptured relief. The grandeur of character in the principle figure, the simplicity of treatment together with sublimity of idea, entitle this work to a high place in Christian art, and reflect on it indeed a monumental value as attesting doctrine. Early art shrank from giving to any other personality than that of the Divine Redeemer, the prominence allowed subsequently to inferior beings; and only indicated, as here by the hand issuing from clouds, the invisible presence of the Infinite. Familiar groups of the Trinity, and picures in which Mary appears quite distinct from her Son, herself the independant object of veneration, are not legitimately connected with the high precedents of primitive antiquity. (1) The grand and mystic composition at S. Prassede seems indeed like an offspring of extatic contemplation, rather than technical skill. Compared with later works — the last judgment by Michel Angiolo, or sacred subjects treated by such artists as Baroccio, Del Sarto, or (inferior to these) Vasari, Bronzino, the Caracci school, and others of the XVII century, one can searcely recognise the same religion as inspiring source; and must own that Art, after having assisted, has also impeded and obscured the conceptions and aspirings of human intellect directed to the Divine. Below the high altar is entered the Confessional, a sub-

(1) Representations of the Trinity, as three persons equal in years and of like aspect, are indeed found on sarcophagi of the IV century (seen in the Christian Museum of the Lateran); but were probably disapproved, to judge by their rarity, and totally unattempted for some centuries after that period.

terranean corridor to be seen only by taper-light, once communicating with Catacombs now no longer passable. Of two sarcophagi here, one contains the bodies of St. Praxedis, her sister, and other Saints; the other has a rich frieze of mosaic with a youthful head sculptured in a shell-formed niche, and the Good Shepherd, in relief, repeated at each side. An altar here is a beautiful specimen of early intaid work, rich in porphyry, serpentino, and other coloured marbles, and above is an ancient fresco of the Blessed Virgin attended by the two daughters of Pudens; the heads remarkable for refinement and sweetness, all three crowned, the Madonna with long fair hair bound by strings of pearls, her dress distinguished from the others by splendour, her action that of one who exhorts or teaches. In diverging corridors are inscriptions, Latin and Greek, one with the monogram of the name of Christ, others Pagan.

Among chapels here, most celebrated is that commonly called the « Cappella della Colonna, » from the relic it contains of the column regarded as that at which was scourged the Redeemer: originally the « Oratory of St. Zeno », afterwards placed under the invocation of the Virgin, as « S. Maria libera nos a poenis Inferi », this chapel, from its beauty and sacredness, was also styled « the Garden of Paradise » — one of those designations referring to the legend that here, as Pope Pascal was celebrating Mass, he had a vision of his nephew, for whose repose he offered the sacrifice, and on the last of five appearances, on as many days, saw the released spirit conducted by the Blessed Virgin, ascending through the narrow-arched window above the altar! In 1123, under the Pontificate of Honorius III, Cardinal Giovanni Colonna, titular of this church, was sent as Legate to accompany the Crusaders in Syria; having left the camp for a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he fell into the hands of the Saracens, who cruelly tortured him, were about to saw his body assunder,

but a miraculous appearance deterred them — the countenance of the martyr became radiant with celestial light whose beams dazzled and terrified! Their hate changed into awe and reverence, their captive is not only released, but receives from them a precious donation, the column (or, according to some, its lower portion only) to which the Saviour had been bound for scourging. Some writers state that the Cardinal obtained this among the concessions stipulated for by the Crusaders, as the price of peace, on the taking of Damietta; and of the miraculous additions to this tale none are given in the learned and curious work by Padre Davanzati, *La Storia di S. Prassede*. In the time St. Jerome, this, with other columns, sustained the portico of the church on Mount Sion, where it was seen by that Saint, and afterwards, in the year 700, by the Venerable Bede, but then removed (as he attests) to the centre of the church. At all events, since the return of Cardinal Colonna from the Crusade, here it has remained, where deposited originally by him. Three palms in height, it is placed, with a lamp perpetually burning, in a niche ornamented in the last century as we now see. The preciousness of the material forms an additional objection to its claims; but it has been erroneously described as a rare species of blood jasper: in the lectures of Sanguinetti, the learned Professor of Mineralogy at the Sapienza, I have heard it mentioned (1) as Syenite granite, of the species distinguished by vivid black stains on a white ground — hence the term admitted by Italian mineralogists, *Granito della Colonna*. Davanzati infers that the column seen by Jerome and Bede, was another, to which *also* the Saviour had been bound, of different dimensions, conformably with the supposition of St. Anselm, and others,

(1) In an interesting series on antique marbles delivered by that Professor in English.

that two scourgings were actually inflicted. Bosio saw, what no trace remains of, an iron ring set in the summit of this at S. Prassede, as if for chaining the person (prof that it could never have stood among the pillars sustaining a portico) and Davanzati adds the curious fact, that at the time he wrote (about 1723) truncate columns, simlar in form, were to be seen in Rome, as in other Italian cities, for the public scourging of convicts — (a usage revived here but few years ago, and inflicted on a lofty scaffold in the piazza del Popolo, the culprit being a notorious thief, whose punishment I witnessed). The chapel is always closed by a grated portal, except at the early Mass celebrated in it daily. Females are never allowed to enter it except on Sundays in Lent but may communicate from its altar, kneeling at the threshold. A solemn twilight is the only illumination admitted within, where profuse but tarnished gilding, faded mosaics, and rich tinted marbles produce an effect of mysterious sanctity, olden and dimly gorgeous.

Walls and vault are covered with those solemn mosaic figures on the ground of gold, dimmed by time, yet still glistening through the gloom; and the same noble simplicity, Christian conceptions with classic treatment, impress us here as in those other works of the IX century, in the apse. Many ideas and symbols differ from those of later Art: the Redeemer, in golden robes, holding a scroll, appears as a youth of severely beautiful aspect, in no way partaking of that extreme softness now commonly given to this subject; sternly majestic Angels, in long white vestments, support the circlet, on the vault, that contains His form; St. Peter has a single key of gold (1); other Apostles have no symbols, strictly to be called such — St. Paul holding a scroll, St.

(1) The key — one, sometimes three, but usually two — became the symbol of St. Peter in Art from the VIII century.

John a richly bound volume; the Virgin and Child are between the richly vested figures of the two sainted Sisters, and the daughters of Pudens again appear, with St. Agnes, all holding crowns, the primitive symbol (instead of the later introduced palm) of Martyrdom: again is seen the Blessed Mother, without the Child, beside St. John Baptist; and again, but only a head, veiled, with the heads of three other females, veiled or crowned. A large disk of porphyry, on the pavement, marks the spot beneath which forty martyrs were interred by Pascal I, that energetic Pope who occupied his reign, of seven years, in continual works of charity, piety, and munificence, beautifying or rebuilding churches, removing the bodies of the saintly dead from catacombs entered from the Campagna, where they were no longer secure, for interment in honoured sepulchres within the city. It was here that, on the feast of St. Praxedis, 1118, when in act of celebrating, Gelasius II was sacrilegiously assaulted by the faction of Leone and Cencio Frangipani, then engaged in the interest of Henry V, from whose hands the Pontiff was saved by interposition of his nephew Gaetano, with the nobles of the Corsi and Normanni families, after a combat of several at the very doors of this church. St. Carlo Borromeo frequently officiated, and spent many hours of the night meditating in this chapel. Its entrance has a porch with two columns of white and black granite, supporting an antique cornice of marble, above which are two curved friezes formed by mosaic circlets, all, except the two lowest in the outer series, being of the IX century — in the outer, the Saviour and the 12 Apostles; in the inner, the Virgin and Child, with eight female Saints in rich costume (like that given to St. Praxedis) with diadems and jewelry, and, each side the Virgin, saints Stephen and Laurence, one aged, the other youthful.

Against a pier near this chapel a long inscription records the restorations of Paschal I, and the transfer of numerous

Saints' and Martyrs' bodies from the Catacombs to this church, preserving also testimony to primitive ecclesiastical usage in the mention of that Pontiff's mother, Theodora, interred here, by the tille *episcopa* (female Bishop) — *ubi utique benignissimae suae genitricis, scilicet Dominae Theodorae Episcopae corpus quiescit.* Piazza, (« Gerarchia ») states that, in primitive times, the wives of those married before entering the priesthood who were elected Bishops, were allowed the title *Episcopa*, as those whose husbands filled inferior ranks in the church, were sometimes called by the feminine designations of offices, *Presbytera* or *Diaconessa*. Such females, thenceforth living in the state of widowhood, used to be consecrated to the service of the church, for discharge of those duties to which the title « Deaconess » had been attached from earliest ages; such are mentioned in the Apostolic Constitutions as required to be, in every case, *Virgo pudica* — or otherwise — *saltem vidua* — *uni viro nupta*. The religion which emancipated and elevated woman, naturally tended from the first to embody in practice its principle by giving her a vocation, and her distinct office in the Church is alluded to by St. Paul. The Council of Chalcedon excommunicated those women who, after being set apart to such offices, had contracted marriage. A species of ordination (not considered sacramental) was anciently conferred upon them, though subsequently abolished by the Council of Laodicea. In the Greek Communion these Deaconesses continued engaged much longer than in the Latin, and at Constantinople their office was maintained till the end of the XII century. In Rome it is certain they continued to be appointed and consecrated by Pontiffs, till the XI century, ancient rituals preserving the form of that consecration both in Greek and Latin. The Bishop celebrant placed a stole round the neck of the Deaconess, who herself took a veil from the altar to throw over her head, and afterwards received a ring with a species of diadem. Her prin-

cipal duties were in attendance on those of her own sex, in presiding over that part of the church appropriated to them, instructing catechumens, assisting at their baptism (which, while immersion continued in practice, was so ordered that the deaconess only could see the female neophyte, though the hand of the priest performed the rite, passing under a veil, by which the font was, for such occasions, concealed); also at Confirmation and Extreme Unction were always employed the services of the Deaconess for her own sex.

Off the sacristy of this church is entered the ancient Campanile whose summit is reached by steep flights of wooden stairs — a dreary half ruinous place, visiting which one stormy day, whilst the wind whistled through the crevices and made the old wood-work rattle as if the whole edifice was shaking, it seemed to me there could be no scene more suited for spectral adventure in Monk Lewis's style; and if the belief in haunting ghosts prevailed in Italian cloisters, surely here, while the midnight bell in this ruinous old tower « sounds one unto the drowsy race of night, » might the troubled spirit glide into view. But the superstition characterised by romantic gloom, the poetry of terror, belongs to northern, not southern minds, and least prevails among the immediate subjects of Rome. On these walls are remains of fresco groups, in bands at different levels, so faded that not even their subjects can be distinguished. Why did the *restorers* of the 16th century pay no attention to these, evidently remains of an art-epoch worth being saved from oblivion, and perhaps ecclesiastically valuable? Hence we ascend to the loggia where are exposed the principal relics at Easter, most venerably precious among which are two thorns from the Crown of Agony, set upright in sockets within a glazed reliquary, — a portion of the sponge, of the seamless robe, of the Holy Sepulchre, and a lock of the Blessed Virgin's hair in a small glass cylinder. Another is an object

to which extraordinary interest attaches, the picture, of miniature scale, said to have been brought by St. Peter from Jerusalem, and deposited in the house of Pudens, as an authentic portrait of the Redeemer. Unquestionably this has remained here from very high antiquity; but though documents extant in the Monastery attest the origin and claims of the rest, this relic is particularized by no evidence contemporary with, or establishing the time of its acquisition, whilst it is known, beyond doubt, that here, during uncounted centuries, it has been exhibited with acceptance of the immemorial tradition concerning it. By some it is described erroneously as a mosaic; by Davanzati as embroidered upon silk; and a writer quoted by him, Lindanus, reports the appearance it once presented, after sustaining much injury from the « pious cupidity » of pilgrims, who used to steal such fragments as could be removed — « relicto tamen Dominicae facies vestigio quod Domini Christi oblonga, non crassa, sed macilenta et tenui fuisse facie contestatur. » Different writers have attested its close resemblance to the *Volto Santo* at St. Peter's, (1) and also to that long considered an authentic likeness of our Lord said by legends to have been sent by Himself to Abgarus, King of Edessa, and which also

(1) The « Volto santo, » said to be the impress of the countenance of the Saviour on the handkerchief of St. Veronica, or Berenice, who lent it to Him on the way to Cavalry for wiping the moisture from his agonized brow, was placed in the Vatican by John VII, in the year 707, and afterwards transferred to the church of S. Spirito, where six Roman noblemen had the care of it, each taking charge of one of the keys with which it was locked up. Amongst the privileges they enjoyed for this office, was that of receiving, every year, from the Hospital of S. Spirito, at the Feast of Pentecost, two cows, whose flesh, an ancient chronicle says, « si mangiavano lì con gran festa ». In 1440 this picture was carried back to St. Peter's, whence it has not since been moved. With the relic of the Cross and Lance,

found its way to Rome. The error of Lindanus as to the material being mosaic, whose tesserae, he says, the pilgrims removed (*sublatis tesserculis*), it is difficult to account for. Having been permitted a near view, I perceived it to be evidently wrought on some stuff of fine texture, which seemed, however, less delicate than silk. Davanzati says, that, in his time (i. e. the last century), the features were nearly obliterated. They have now become *totally* so, leaving no trace either of design or colour, but merely the outline of a figure down to the waist, apparently including hands and arms, preserved by the shaping of a plate of metal gilt with coloured enamel ornaments, that covers the entire surface around within its frame. The Greek inscription on this ground of enamelling, adds to the archaeologie if not religious value of a relic, the legend attached to which it confirms. It is cit-

it is exposed several times during the Holy Week, but none who has not rank of Canon at St. Peter's can enter the chamber, within the great pier, under the cupola, where these revered objects are deposited. A few years since, however, all were submitted to much nearer inspection, when, during some days before the proclamation of a new dogma, (the Immaculate Conception) by Pius IX, these three relics remained over the altar of the Holy Sacrament at St. Peter's. Thus enabled to examine the character of the head on the Veronica handkerchief, it struck me as undoubtedly a work of early Byzantine art, perhaps the VII or VIII century, painted on linen, with that expression of gloomy severity common to the heads of Saints in ancient Greek pictures. The legend so long attaching to it has evidently been received with earnestness, evinced in its frequent treatment by art; and it is with implicit acceptance of its claims that Petrarch alludes to it — « verendam populis Salvatoris Imaginem. » Ep. IX, lib. II. During the republican domination in'49, it was rumoured (for what objects may be understood) that, about Easter, the Canons of St. Peter's saw the « Volto Santo » turn pale, and ominously change colour whilst they gazed upon it!

ed by the monastic author above referred to as Πετρος ὁ Ἑβραιος, though in fact the last of those words is not only imperfect, but has a superfluous letter. Written vertically at both sides the obliterated figure, it stands thus in good Greek characters,

Ο	Π
Ε	Σ
β	Τ
Σ	Ρ
Ρ	Ο
	Σ

Other relics there are here of less doubtful authenticity, and that all may look on with interest for the sake of one among the highest and purest characters in modern church-history: the episcopal throne (a plain wooden chair) of St. Carlo Borromeo, and the table at which, like St. Gregory, he used daily to feed and wait upon 12 poor men in his palace at Milan. The pictures, in the same chapel with these, representing that Saint in extasy before the Eucharist, and again in devotion, by Louis Stern, preserve his likeness, but are not otherwise remarkable. Giulio Romano's picture of the Flagellation, in the Sacristy, is the only celebrated work of art, the ancient mosaics excepted, within these walls. The community of this monastery, under a mitred Abbot, has diminished year after year, and is now seldom more than 8 or 10 fathers, whose black habit is like the Benedictine, for though once called, from the colour they wore, « Grey Monks, » the Vallombrosans, since 1500, have been no longer distinguished in costume from the elder family under St. Benedict's rule. I have conversed with their superior here, and found him of agreeable manners. Though neatly kept, there is an air of desertion and decay in these cloisters, that inspires melancholy. The library, once valuable, has never been fully restored since its dispersion at the

revolutionary epoch in the last century. In the garden, round which rise the cloisters, is an orange-tree planted by St. Carlo Borromeo, and still bearing fruit abundantly, though with gnarled trunk quite hollow and contorted into strangest forms. Some ancient epitaphs are preserved in the arcades, and an inscription, in Gothic characters, date 1286, recording the donations made to this church by the Cardinal Ancherus, among others a gold Cross and silver candelabra, on condition that high mass should be sung daily for his soul, and a lamp kept burning in the chapel chosen for that rite, in which chapel the monument of that Cardinal, dated 1286; deserves notice as among the finest works of medieval sculpture in Rome. He is said to have been assassinated outside the Porta San Giovanni; and is represented here in a recumbent statue, with elaborately finished pontific vestments, on an isolated couch, richly ornamented with inlaid smalt and marble chiselling. Several other monuments of note, mentioned by Davanzati, have been removed from this church, as indeed, the destruction of such works, within the last centuries in Rome, for the sake of tasteless restorations, has been tolerated to a degree that would be scarce credible, unless attested by the histories of monastic churches and convents so diligently compiled in various instances.

Strange comments or episodes to ecclesiastical history might be culled from the unpublished archives of the cloisters! In those of Vallombrosa is the narrative of an event that took place here at S. Prassede, A. D. 1630, showing what dark transactions, what perversions of justice and abuses of police were possible even at that period of comparative civilization and legal order. under a pontificate, Urban the Eighth's, noted for beneficence and generally good government. It seems that, under the Abbot Morandi, certain disorders had taken place, and immoralities been attributed to some of the monks in these cloisters, not, however, that

the mitred father was himself to blame, he having discharged his duty by investigating and correcting. The storm had apparently past over, and all returned to the usual calm monotony of the secluded life, when one evening, the Roman Fisc, several notaries and myrmidons of police entered the monastery abruptly and in rude manner, placed the Abbot under arrest, and led him away to that Tor di Nona, associated with the story of the Cenci and others of tragic renown. There, without ever seeing an accuser, was he repeatedly examined, and so atrociously tortured, as to be reduced to utter helplessness, unable to feed himself, and obliged to be attended like a child, far which offices a lay-brother from his monastery was allowed to remain with the unhappy man. Meantime other arrests took place at S. Prassede, other monks were tortured for hours together, in the same prison, but none made any confession inculpating their Abbot.

The latter, after about three months' confinement, without any intimation to his community or friends respecting the charges or evidence against him, was attacked by fever, or symptoms of that nature, not without suspicions (naturally excited) of poison. When death was evidently approaching, the consolation, long cruelly refused, of communicating with a confessor of his own Order, was at last allowed him, and other members of his religious brotherhood were permitted to attend that deathbed, thus allowing an account of his last hours to be preserved, affecting and marked by truthful simplicity that increases our indignant sympathies for this victm. He died forgiving his accusers and tormentors, October 1630, having been arrested in July previous. The body was removed by night to S. Prassede, and next day exposed in the church, where a multitude assembled to see it, moved apparently to compassionate interest by circumstances that may have transpired, and been commented upon, as the Romans were doubtless then, as

now, quick to suspect and unsparing to condemn the abuses of their government. Still are we left without explanation of the mystery in this tragic story, the Vallombrosa records failing to supply more than these facts, but mentioning one report that the charge against the unfortunate Abbot was in reference to some injurious speaking against Urban VIII, from whom we hear of no direct interference an his behalf. Morandi is described as learned in politics and astrology (*vir sagacissimus in politicis, et Astrologicis versatissimus*), and it is added that his familiar friend and astrologer — a singular intimate for the cloister — had deduced from his horoscope prognostics, noted down on his tablets, for precisely that year 1630, « Quid hoc anno temendum ! quid non sperandum ! » (1) The Archives of Vallombrosa form a body of evidence how the slowly accumulated records of the Monastery provided the fullest and most reliable notices of local events, till the silent cloister gradually gave birth to what developed itself in the great products of mind and learning as Modern History. Looking through its *Libro di Ricordanze*, one has a complete picture of the monastic interior, the most important or trivial events, all that belongs to the history of each day, being noted down with like carefulness. Sometimes it is the arrival of a new Abbot, the solemn ceremonial for his reception, and his address to the community in chapter; sometimes the periodical visit of the Father General, of a Cardinal or Prelate; or it may be merely the incident of routine, the ceremony or sermon, the hanging up of a new picture, the completion of repairs, the donation of some sacred object for the church; or no other record of the quiet day than that such a regulation was enforced, a decree of the Holy office, or communication from the General at Rome

(1) From the Archivio of Florence.

had been read in the refectory. As far as the XII century go back the reports of Synods and general Chapters for enforcement of discipline, directed to maintaining the monastic rule in all its primitive austerity. During the long fasts that make of the whole year almost one Lenten season, meat is never to be touched without license from superiors, under pain of seven days' diet on bread and water, the monk is never to speak with a female except mothers or sisters be applicants, and even these he can only converse with before witnesses — such the decrees of the Synod in 1147; and in 1154, it is ordered that infraction of the rule of silence is to be punished by the discipline (scourging). Generally in these mandates from authority is expressed the highest theory of the monastic calling, and apart, from mere outward severities, an exalted and rational sense of the obligations of virtue and self-denial in the religious state, considered as a peculiar relationship of the soul with Deity. Frequent are the entries concerning novices, their reception and social position, their admission to take vows after the year's probation, or (as is recorded with like precision and frankness) their withdrrwal after passing through that ordeal, when decided against the permanent obligations of such life. Some documents have their value for church history in a wider sense, as the Circular from Pope Clement V, dated 1311, summoning the Abbot to attend at the Council of Vienne, convoked for suppression of the Templars, against whom is given a fearful catalogue of accusations. Local phenomena, such as earthquakes and floods, are noted with full details, and the last illnesses and deaths of inmates described in these records, often in a manner very affecting, evince with what pious care were paid the last duties to suffering humanity, as one by one drop off from the undissolving family. Here are also notices of the exercise of a power, which, but for the well-ordered ageney and responsibilities

of hierarchic government, might have been greatly abused. The Abbots of Vallombrosa had authority to arrest, incarcerate, and bring to trial their refractory subjects, without reference to any lay tribunal; and we find the minutes of judicial proceedings against some such offenders, who spent a weary time (three or four months at the utmost) in the prison-tower of that Monastery, or else at S. Ellero, now one of the farms, with residence for labourers and a chapel. These subjects were accused of obstinate disobedience, insolence, and heretic propositions; but mildness and entreaty, persuasion and warning, are invariably among means used, over and over again, to bring back into the right path; and submission is always graciously accepted; after a few light penances imposed, the penitent brother is received again to former favours and position. An efficient check there certainly existed against the abuses of this cloistral authority, in the limitation of offices, with the consequent periodical change of superiors, and inspection by the highest, the Father General placed over the entire Order. Observing the vagueness of the charges registered, one is led to conclude that a morbid restlessness, arising from weariness at the monotony and restraints of the external life, rather than any incorrigible malice was the root of evil; and the principle of permanent obligation to the cloistral state is put to severe test in these cases (1), which seem but to illustrate the truth that there are moral phases in which stirring variety and stimulant are the only remedies against the decay within, the infirmity to which minds as well as bodies are subject. The higher the

(1) The principle of monastic, or regular life, without vows, or with the renewal of such from year to year, is admitted by the Church, as in the Oratorian or Philipine Order, that of Sisters of Charity, and the Oblate Nuns founded by St. Francesca of Rome.

requirement, the deeper may be the fall from efforts to attain that ideal proposed in the religious life—

'Tis, by comparison, an easy task
Earth to despise; but to converse with Heaven,
This is not easy.

(Wordsworth)

At that central Monastery of the Vallombrosans, the first series of Abbots extends from the year 1015 to 1514; then follows a period of secular administration; then, after the completion of the new buildings in 1577, when was erected the structure stitl stauding, a restoration of strict abbatial government, as maintained to the present day, under superiors thenceforth elected every fourth year. The charities of this establishment continued to be dispensed to all applicants largely and systematically, as registered throughout, till near the close of the last century, when the records now in the public Archivio are interrupted. From 1750 to'53 (the period of an abbatial government) were distributed 229, 761 loaves to the poor, not including the daily succour of many dependants on the estates, nor the hospitalities to visitors at the *Foresteria*. During the same period were planted by the monks, to maintain those forests forming so noble a feature in the scenery around their mountain sanctuary, no fewer than 40,300 beech trees; and from 1751 to'53 were spent for agricultural objects and the pay of labourers, more than 2,477 scudi, notwithstanding a deficit in the revenues verified to the amount of 13,775 piasters. The list, here given, of Vallombrosan establishments to which extended the privileges conceded to the Order in 1283 by Innocent IV, comprises 69 Abbeys, 30 Priorates, 18 Hospices, and 9 houses of Nuns.

No longer conspicuous or very influential in Rome, the Vallombrosans are respected, but little heard of; and their interesting old church, approached by obscure and squalid

ways, is scantily attended for any services, except on the stations in Lent, and the grand vespers of Easter, when its Relics are solemnly exposed from the balcony near the tribune. Such sacred representations, utterly opposed to the spirit of Protestantism, continue to this day most attractive and of awe-striking effect to the minds of the Roman populace, who cannot be expected to bring any critical judgment to the claims of genuineness in objects cherished by the veneration of ages, and only removed from their costly shrines to be dimly seen in distance amid details of imposing pomp. A grand exposition of Relics, as here, at S. Maria Maggiore and the Lateran on Easter Sunday, and at St. Peter's the next day, forms indeed one of the most characteristic and picturesquely displayed among the devotions eminently popular in modern Rome.

Art-illustration of Vallombrosan Annals has chiefly dwelt on the lives of two personages, the sainted Founder, and St. Pietro Aldobrandini, usually represented in the act of passing through the fiery Ordeal, as in a picture in one of the lateral chapels at S. Prassede. Here, in the sacristy, is an altar-piece of St. Giovanni Gualberto meeting his foe in the narrow way ascending to S. Miniato; but he is more commonly seen kneeling before the altar in that church after forgiving his brother's murderer, and with the additional circumstance by which legends embellish the story, of the figure on the cross bowing its head to signify approbation of the inward victory achieved in Giovanni's mind! — as very naturally might such have been his illusion under the impressions of the moment. In another chapel here is the martyrdom of Cardinal Beccaria, once general of the Vallombrosans, who, being sent to Florence by Alexander IV to make peace between the furious Guelf and Gibelline factions, suffered death at their hands, publicly and at the block — notwithstanding whose merits and sacrifice, the relentless

party-spirit of Dante scrupled not to place him in the « Inferno »

— quel di Beccaria
Di cui segò Fiorenza la gorgiera
Canto XXXII.

Never perhaps have any subjects from Vallombrosan traditions been treated in productions more valuable to the story of art, than the beautifully finished *alto rilievi* — scenes from the life of S. Giovanni and the Fiery Ordeal of St. Peter — to which ten years' labour were dedicated by Benedetto da Rovezzano (about 1504-14), originally in the chapel of that saint at the monastery of S. Salvi near Florence, but now in the Uffizj Gallery, after suffering barberous mutilation from the besieging soldiery in 1530 (1).

Olivetans

The Benedictine Congregation known by the name « Olivetan » was founded, early in the XIV century, by Bernardo of the ancient Sienese family of the Tolomei, who had been professor of Philosophy at the Siena University, and was suddenly struck with blindness whilst expounding a metaphysical question from his chair. His sight was restored but, such the effect of this visitation, that he vowed to dedicate himself thenceforth to the religious life under patronage of of the Blessed Virgin, whom he invoked as guardian to his new resolves. Consequently when, on the first occasion of his reappearance in the lecture-room, a large audience had as-

(1) It is scarcely necessary to refer the reader, for the story of religious Orders in Art, to a work of such repntation as Mrs. Jameson's, by whom indeed this subject has been so treated as to leave nothing more to be desired,

sembled to hear him resume the discussion of human science, he surprised them by a homily on the vanities of worldly things, and the trascendant importance of the heavenly, the alone enduring, and so eloquent his words that many hearers were induced to follow the example he presently set, in strict conformity thereto, by retiring from social commerce to embrace the life more perfect, according to the ascetic ideas then dominant. A solitary spot, 16 miles from Siena, on an estate belonging to his family, was the retreat chosen by Bernardo, to which, with two others of noble race, one a Piccolomini, the other a Patrizi, he repaired, there to lead that eremite life which prevailing religious sentiment at that day regarded as most admirable. But these austere hermits met with opposition and calumny, were even denounced as hereties to the Pope, and summoned to meet that charge at Avignon before John XXII, who, however, was fully satisfied with their justification, and dismissed them honourably, only enjoining them to observe henceforth one of the monastic rules already sanctioned, as they should be advised by the counsel of Guido, Bishop of Arezzo, to whom he referred them. The Benedictine was the rule decided for, and as to costume, a habit and cowl entirely white, adopted conformably to a vision (as legends account for this fact, every distinction and badge of the religious profession being then deemed of moment. The eminence on which their first sanctuary stands near Siena, they called the Mount of Olives, though the spot was hitherto known only as the Val d'Acona; and in that solitude they dedicated themselves to the most rigorous observances of the ancient Benedictine system; but it was not merely by mortifications that their sincerity or purity of purpose became approved, much more by the nobler tests of heroic self-sacrifice for the good of others. The plague breaking out at this period in different parts of Italy, Bernardo invited his monks to quit their retreat, and follow

him back to their native city, that the assistance of the suffering might thenceforth be their special vocation, whilst at the same time he predicted that many of them should fall victims to the same pestilence. The zeal with which they devoted themselve to this sublime service, in administering both temporal and spiritual aid, won the admiration of all their fellow-citizens, till Bernardo himself, after others of their number had been cut off, died of the plague, aged 76, in the year 1348, after having held for 27 years the office of superior over his monastic followers, which he had refused accepting till at the third election in their community. Though beatified by Innocent X, this admirable man has not yet been canonized; but so long since as 1768, was given the requisite sanction by the Holy See for instituting the process with a view to bestowing such honours on his name and virtues. In Italy and Sicily the Olivetan Monasteries once amounted to eighty; but, whether from the absence of very destinct features or claims to mark them out among others, or because the monastic spirit was already in incipient decline, this Order never took root beyond the Alps, and when two monasteries in Hungary were given them by the Emperor Sigismund, they only remained a short time in occupation there. Earlier austerities were not retained without some modification; the use of wine was allowed, after having originally been forsworn, and so strictly that the vineyards on the Tolomei estate, where they had settled, were all torn up by the first followers of the Beato Bernardo. Illnesses which ensued in the community, were snpposed to have been caused by this astinence, and the opposite indulgence went so far as at last to admit a clause in their rule to the effect that only the best wines should be purchased for the monks, and the inferior, produced from their own vintages, should be sold! — a reaction, perhaps, against austerities that overtaxed human endurance. Wealth and influence

once belonged to the Olivetans, which have now almost disappeared.

At their stately monastery in Naples, with 20,000 crowns of revenue, they were frequently visited (in the XV century) by king Alfonso, who, not contented with being a guest, sometimes insisted on himself acting the servant, and waited at table on the monks! At their parent establishment near Siena, Charles V once lodged with 5000 in his train, all at once the guests of the Cloister. That establishment still retains its magnificence; a beautiful church has risen over the cells of the hermits of Monte Oliveto, and a scene of luxuriant cultivation, created by monastic care, succeeded to the sterile solitude chosen for retreat by the Beato Bernardo. But elsewhere this Order is now little conspicuous in Italy. Near Bologna the princely legatine villa of S. Michele, at Perugia the spacious buildings of the University, alike originally Olivetan cloisters, have long been untenanted by their fraternities. They are governed by a General elected for three years, who visits all their houses once during his period of office, and an annual visit is made to each by two commissioners, with that accustomed regularity of discipline, never departed from by religious Orders since the Council of Trent. Into this Order monks of any other, except the Carthusian, were permitted, by Julius II, to transfer themselves; and however ancient austerities be modified, the rising at midnight for office in choir, and many other observance in the same spirit are still retained by the Olivetans. The annals of this Order have been compiled, and continued down to 1618, by one of its learned members, Secondo Lancilotto of Perugia, (deceased 1643;) but in general its services to literature have not been distinguished; and among works that might have been dispensed with was the translation of the *Divina Commedia* into Latin verse, by Matteo Ronto, a Greek of Venetian family, an Oblate in the fraternity at

Monte Oliveto, where he died 1443, leaving his performance only to be perserved in MS, but in one copy with miniatures, mentioned by Tiraboschi as singularly precious. At Rome they have possessed, since the XIV century, a church known by two names, alike in popular use — *S. Maria Nuova* and *S. Francesca Romana*, on the site of Adrian's splendid temple to Venus and Rome, between the Basilica of Constantine and the Arch of Titus, a grandly picturesque location, where, as by the Cross in the centre of the Colosseum, overlook ed from this platform, the triumphs of Christianity seem vividly expressed in total contrast with objects around. But the exterior of this often-restored church has lost all character of venerable antiquity, except one only feature of architecture either expressive or strictly ecclesiastical, the lofty square tower of brickwork, pierced by arcades in several storeys, and adorned by inlaid disks of coloured marble — this pertaining to the buildings of the year 1216, after the whole had bem burnt down under Honorius III, and one of the most venerable of those *campanili*, the greater number of which in Rome, similar in style, belong to the same century. The facade, modernised into its present form in 1615 by the architect Lombardo, is a flourish of the false aud theatrical style that justly excited indignation in the castigating critic Milizia. Tradition says this edifice occupies precisely the site of the vestibule of the Golden House of Nero, and that here it was the Emperer assisted as spectator of the attempted flight of Simon Magus, when (according to the legend) that Heresiarch raised himself into the air by the aid of Demons, but was discomfited by the prayers of St. Peter, who caused him to fall and be dashed to pieces, perishing miserably, that his impostures might be exposed before the assembled authorities of Rome — a favourite subject with artists of the 17th century. A church is said to have been dedicated here to Saints Peter and Paul, by St. Silvester, which, in the VIII

century, gave title to a Cardinal, as *S. Maria Antica*. John VIII, elected A, D. 872 within these walls, caused it to be restored, and inhabited the contiguous monastery during his Pontificate; from which period, it is supposed, the name was changed into *S. Maria Nuova*. About the year 1100, one of the Frangipani family brought from Troy to Rome an ancient picture of the Blessed Virgin, one of the many attributed to St. Luke, which was hung over an altar here. A miraculous preservation of this picture, according to some writers in the 9th — to others in the 13th century, was visible to all during the conflagration of the church, when it remained for three days amidst the flames, totally uninjured! Whilst the restoration was in progress it was removed to S. Adriano on the Forum; and the buildings still in part preserved being completed, the clergy were proceeding to carry back this picture to its former sanctuary, when a violent opposition was raised by the inhabitants of the district round S. Adriano, who could not endure that their favourite Madonna should be moved, even to a distance scarcely five minutes' walk from the temple whose claims were thus defended! From words the opponents passed to blows, and perhaps bloodshed, till, to the amazement of all, a child interposed, exclaiming in loud voice — « What are you doing? The Madonna is already in her church »— the picture had transported itself, none knew how! The contest and its motives are characteristic of the period when rival cities went to war about images or symbols, and armed adventurers risked life far the purloining of relics, whose possession was considered so supremely important that, in one instance (that of St. Romuald), we read of the intent to *murder* a holy man for the sake of securing his remains, the dead instead of the living, as abiding Palladium for a territory which it was suspected he purposed to quit! In the XV century occurred another tumult connected with the story of this monastery,

also showing what the then dispositions of the Roman people, their haughty sense of rights, and of the antique honours attached to their locality, as well as their deficience in the regards for religious bodies elsewhere so deeply rooted. Under Eugenius IV, the monks built walls extending their garden to a wide sweep enclosing the entire circumference of the Collosseum (though on a level much lower than their monastery) the object avowed being to remove occasion for evil deeds, such as were rendering those ruins a centre of dangers and iniquities. At first no opposition was raised; but some years afterwards, that energetic Pope being deceased, the popular voice demanded the restoring of that arena to public enjoyment — no concession from the monks; a tumult ensued; the people surrounded their residence, and in a short time the enclosing walls were completely swept away (v. Montfaucon and Flaminius Vacca). In the XII century this church was given in charge to Lateran Canons, who officiated here till, in the XIV, it passed into the possession of the Olivetans. Several distinguished persons held the deaconal title of Cardinals of *S. Maria Novella* — as Gregory XI, Paul II, and one with qualifications for such dignity far indeed from respectable — Caesar Borgia, on whom was conferred by Alexander VI, in 1493, the scarlet Hat not many years afterwards renounced, when he was promoted to the French Dukedom of Valentinois, The saintly matron, foundress of the Order of Oblates, Francesca de Ponziani, being interred here, 1440, in remembrance of her the original dedication was exchanged for that of *S. Francesca Romana.* Here the anniversary of her death (9th March) is still celebrated with assistance of the Cardinals, and offering from the Senate of a silver chalice with wax torches. Till the time of Pius V., this church was the scene of an antique ceremonial, now disused: on the vigil of the Assumption was brought in procession, from the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, the much venerated picture of the

Saviour described in legends as of miraculous origin, hence called *achiropeion* (made without hands), and here, while matins were sung, the feet of the figure used to be washed in perfumed water made from the herb basilic. Since A.D 790 has been continued the ritual observance first instituted here — the assemblage of the Roman Clergy, on the second day of Rogations, for moving hence processionally to the Lateran. The interior of the church has a certain richness, though with imperfect preservation of the features distinguishing the type to which it belongs, more gorgeous than tasteful. Its monuments are its most interesting contents. Near the entrance is that to Cardinal Adimari, who died 1422, on his return from a mission directed to reduce to obedience the obstinate Antipope, Pietro di Luna, called Benedict XII, who persisted till death in his usurping pretensions, notwithstanding his formal deposition by the Council of Constance. That to Cardinal Vulcani, 1322, is a rude but curious specimen of the medieval, with the portrait statue, a recumbent figure beneath which appear Faith, Hope and Charity in high relief, Faith holding the model of a church and a candelabrum, Charity, not with the suckling children usually given her in modern art, but dispensing loaves to a little grotesque figure who eagerly stretches out his hands.

Betwen the double stairs ascending from the nave to the transepts, is the splendid mausoleum of S. Francesca Romana, by Bernini, erected 1648, at the expense of Donna Agata Pamfili, sister of Innocent X, herself of the Order of Oblates, its precious marbles, and columns of jasper enclosing a semicircle within which is the figure of the Saint and the Angel (who according to the beautiful legend, was the guardian for many years visibly present, and never leaving her). A relief of St. Francesca, also by Bernini, in a chapel beneath, the actual place of sepulture, is distinguished by matronly beauty, tender and extatic devotion; and in execution

remarkable for that elaborate finish in which the artist excelled. The mosaics in the apse, the Virgin and Child, with Saints Peter, James and John, are of about the date 860, when Nicholas I. almost rebuilt this church, and at which epoch the mosaic art in Rome, though still much fostered, was declining. Over the Virgin's diadem-encircled head, a hand is stretched forth from clouds with a golden crown, such as usually appears in older mosaics, offered *not* to her, but to the Redeemer. Coarse and feeble in execution, these mosaics are considered by Kugler to display, not so much the decline of Byzantine art, as the introduction of a new influence, Frankish, or otherwise northern. They close the series of what is called the Romano-byzantine in mosaic art, and are the latest of the IX century preserved in Rome. Pursuing the examination into the testimony of monuments in regard to the faith and sentiment of antiquity, we observe that, though by no means the earliest, this group presents one of the most conspicuous instances of the Virgin being the central, and independantly sacred object, without a higher presence, to a group of saintly figures. For the very first time we see her in this relation in the mosaics of A. D. 640-2, at S. Venanzio, the chapel of the Lateran Baptistry; as it is at nearly the same date (628 38) we see another sainted female, Agnes, centre to a group and receiving the crown from the hand of Deity above, at the Basiliea dedicated to her — in both instances the *creature* filling the place anciently assigned to the Divine Being alone. In one transept is a monument commemorating a great event of Papal Rome, erected in 1574 by order of the Senate, to Gregory XI, in token of public gratitude for his restoration of the Holy See to this city after an exile of 72 years at Avignon— the sculpture by Pietro Paulo Olivieri, whose name is introduced on the relief representing the triumphal entrance. The Pope appears riding under a canopy, with the Cross

and *flabella*, accompanied by several Cardinals on horseback, military, and a multitude among whom are allegorie personages, Rome as an Amazonian warrior, and a little angel bearing the Papal Keys above a throne floating in the clouds. In front, before the horse of the Pope, walks the Dominican nun, St. Catherine of Siena, whose entreaties strongly influenced Gregory in his decision of restoring the Holy See to Rome. (1) Near the gate is a large breach in the fortified walls, to indicate the state of ruin into which this city had fallen during the absence of the Pontiffs.

Gregory XI, (son of the Count de Beaufort) accepted unwillingly the sovereignty to which he was elected by unanimous votes, in 1370. Created Cardinal by his uncle Clement VI, when only 17, he had been from early years distinguished by virtues and learning, and on the throne was one of the Pontiffs whose actions showed the highest sense of the grandeur of their vocation as pacificators and umpires in the interests, moral and political, of Christendom. He exerted himself to procure peace between hostile kings, — sucessfully in the case of those of Castile and Portugal, but without any effect in appeal to the haughty monarchs of France and England, then at deadly rivalship, Charles V, and

(1) Not the only one of her sex was this saintly and fervent minded woman to raise a voice against the great evil of which the absence of the Popes was the cause to Rome and Italy. A poetess, whom Crescimbeni extols as superior, in some respects, to all writers of the day, Petrarch alone excepted — Ortensia di Guglielmo, thus begins a sonnet on the oft-lamented subject:

Ecco, Signor, la greggia tua d'intorno
Cinta da lupi a divorarla intenti,
Ecco tutti gli onor d'Italia spenti,
Poichè fa altrove il gran Pastor soggiorno.

Edward III. The Spanish king, Henry II, left to his decision the contest then pending between himself and Henry I, of Navarre. Against the ferocious Barnabo Visconti of Milan, who never ceased to molest the subjects and territories of the Church, censures were pronounced and war declared by Gregory; and indeed the active mind of this Pope was directed, for many years, to all the great interests of Europe. He sent ambassadors to Constantinople to exhort the clergy and people to abandon that schism which their Emperor, John Palæologus, had already renounced. He counselled beneficent measures in Hungary for the advantage of those recently converted from the Mohammedan religion; published a crusade in Germany, and other states, in the object of of checking the progress of the Ottoman power, excited the king of France to oppose the turbulent sects then becoming formidable both to ecclesiastical and political interests in his realm: ordered the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London to proceed against Wickliff, whose errors he had condemned (1). But the great act of his life was that restoration which made Rome again the capital of Christendom. Having first obliged, by a Bull, all non-resident Prelates to return to their sees from the court at Avignon, one of these had the hardihood to object, with the argument that his Holiness also was absent from the see properly his own; Gregory, with true magnanimity, instead of being offended, accepted the reproof, pondered, took counsel, and allowed himself to be confirmed in the resolution, perhaps already formed, of putting an end to the state of widowhood in which the Roman Church then languished.

(1) His also was the merit of suppressing the utterly unchristian usage, in France, of denying the Sacraments to those about to die on the scaffold.

The extraordinary embassy sent from Florence in the person of St. Catherine of Siena, her letters on the subject, and the arguments of Peter, Infante of Aragon, a saintly inmate of the cloister, also of another royal and religious counsellor, the Swedish Princess Bridget, had powerful effect in confirming, if not suggesting his decision for the step, against which Gregory would not listen to the dissuassions of the kings of France and England, or of the French Cardinals and Prelates. In September, he quitted Avignon, with his court and all but six of the Cardinals; and on the 17th January, 1377, entered Rome with a magnificent cavalcade, from the Ostian Basilica, where he had first landed after embarking on the Tiber, and where the magistracy had received him. A deputation of citizens had met him at Corneto, where he also landed, to consign a deed conferring on the Papacy full and absolute dominion over Rome, but still reserving various usages and privileges to their municipality: this promised allegiance, however, was little acted out by his subjects during the rest of Gregory's pontificate. His latter years were embittered by the ingratitude and turbulence of the Roman people, and in his despondency he thought of returning to Avignon, as continually urged by the French Cardinals. Cut off by death at the age of only 47, his remains were laid here, after the *Novendialis*, or nine-days' funeral rites, had been held partly in St. Peter's, partly in this church. Near this monument are set within the wall two deeply indented blocks of stone, that seem blackened by the action of fire, an inscription above which narrates the legend that St. Peter knelt on them when Simon Magus was discomfited through his prayer; but, on observing nearer reverence may be checked when we see that the proportions are such as to suppose a figure nothing less than gigantic! The learned Montfaucon mentions this pretended relic and its legend without a word in its support — in the same manner that he refers to the

fountain in the Mamertine Prisons, but passes silently over the impress on those walls left by the head of St Peter! It searce needs reflection to perceive that no religious system can be benefited by retaining, with their material objects, such claims to credulity as these, or (what may be placed in the same class) the footsteps at the *Domine quo vadis* church, on the well-head and rent column in the Lateran cloisters. Truth connot be fortified by outworks of Fiction; and that Rome, the centre of all in doctrine and tradition most revered in the minds of millions, should also remain a centre of self-contradicting legends attached to objects claiming the impossible, in a spirit of bliad conservatism, is one of the inconsequences in her present aspects most deeply to be lamented. The Olivetan Monastery here is an ancient but modernised building, in which details of the antique may still be noticed, as in the columns of a cloister with arcades now partly built up, and the broken figures of lions guarding the entrance from the court. Flaminius Vacca mentions excavations made under the apse, which brought to light remains of colossal masonry, rich marble pavement, and several pedestals for statues already removed, all supposed to have belonged to the Neronian palace; but it is the connection with the ruins of the temple dedicated to Venus and Rome that now gives antiquarian interest to this monastery. A vaulted dimly lighted corridor between the church and cloisters, now ruinous, would be quite a scene for incident in Romance of the Radcliffe school — a place for listening to the wind howling at midnight, and in which to feel the spells of that visionary Fear

> — To whom the world unknown,
> With all its shadowy shapes is shown.

Like most houses of the more ancient Orders in Rome, this monastery has now declined, so that, recently, not more than 7 or 8 has been the average number of fathers in

the community (1), scarcely, as is the case in many other Roman cloisters, one fifth or sixth the number for whom accomodation might be found. An interesting portion of the once splendid Temple of Venus and Rome, the interior cella, or rather its niche for the statue of the deity, corresponding to that which faces the Colosseum, can only be seen by entering these cloisters, the small garden of which is bounded on two sides by these ruins of Adrian's magnificent Temple.

The contrast between the scene before this church on the Forum when Gregory XI returned to Rome, and at the present day, might be regarded as representing the conditions of this City at the two epochs. Sunk into little better than a ruinous village scattered over a wide surface, distracted by anarchy and polluted by crime, the Rome of 1377, here at its most classic centre, scarcely presented one feature of all that group now meeting our gaze, except the Pagan temples half buried in soil and rubbish, their columns only visible in about half the height now uncovered, whilst on the Capitol stood not a single modern building (its senatorial palace having been burnt in the time of Rienzi), and above the Arch of Titus rose a huge fortress almost concealing its graceful structure. Gregory found, before himself and his successors, the task of restoring their metropolis almost from destruction. Its churches had become, as Muratori observes, so many owls' nests; even a century later, Sixtus IV had to effect repairs and improvements (among others the yet unattempted paving of the streets) which led Panvinio to remark that, after finding the city built in mud, he left it reconstructed in brick. But there were other dilapidations

(1) In giving the numbers forming the actual communities, in Rome, I report, not their amount at precisely the same date, but the result of different inquiries within recent years.

more fatal — the discredit into which Papal government had fallen, the general defection from its obedience. In 1375 eighty places, more or less important, cities, towns, fortresses, had cast off allegiance to the Tiara in the course of a few days — Viterbo, Perugia, Spoleto, Assisi, Narni, being among these, whilst Bologna, though recently reconquered for the Papacy by Cardinal Albornoz, again declared her independance, after chasing from her walls the English adventurer Hawkwood, then fighting for the Church. A moral degeneration fearful to contemplate is described as deepening the gloom in the social picture of Italy during this century. The means adopted for recovering the Papal possessions were more compromising then defeat; slaughter and pillage took place in the name and under the banners of the church, and Cardinals led armies to beseige or exterminate. Discords agitated even the Religious Orders, and sometimes resulted in bloodshed within the very cloisters — « the fruit (says Muratori) of that general corruption of manners mainly owing to the absence of the Popes, and to continued warfare.» That historian (*Annali* 1373, '75) shows what the worldliness and avarice of the court at Avignon, what the licentiousness and anarchy in the Roman States. But no accounts impress with such a sense of the deep injury inflicted on the Church and on morals by that residence, and the character of that Court at Avignon, as the letters of Petrarch, a cotemporary and eye-witness (*Epist. sine titulo*, V, VIII, X, XII, XV, XVI, XVII). That one so high and pure in heart and intellect, so earnest in religiousness, should descend to retail the scandals narrated in some of those pages, might excite surprise, but for the virtuous indignation ennobling what he writes. No doubt still darker pictures were presented by the Europe of the XIV. century: the courts of Philip in France, of Edward in England, of Joanna at Naples, might furnish matter for severer censure; but that the circle immediately surrounding

the chief of the Catholic Hierarchy should set this example of open desregard for the leading principles in Christian practise, was a sign of the thimes indeed portentous, fraught with perturbatious to the general conscience, too well suited to excite irrèligious doubts and levity, or become the excuse for every immorality. One result has been that species of literary war against the Papacy, now first appearing, anticipated indeed (before the removal to Avignon) by Dante, continued by Petrarch, who sees in the city on the Rhone the mystic Babylon of the Apocalypse; and in much later times revived in Italian letters with various expression, in the political, historic, and poetic forms — in such tragedies as the *Ricciarda* of Foscolo, the *Arnoldo di Brescia* of Niccolini, and such satires as those of Giusti -- a hostility not attacking doctrine, but pointed against the temporal sovereignty of Rome as distinct from the spiritual, regarding, not its centralisation of ecclesiastical power, but the postponement of aims and interests purely spiritual, to the objects of worldly advantage, the compulsion of resistance, the alliance with secular Princes often disposed to use religion as the handmaid of despotism, the cloak for abuses of power. But from the worst effects of the sojourn in France, that vitality still exhausliess in the Papacy enabled it soon to recover; and restorations, moral and material, were promoted vigorously by such energetic men as soon appeared on its throne — Martin V, Nicholas V, the virtuous and learned Pius II. Results affecting the manners of the Papal court were, perhaps, more abiding: to the prejudice of the simply sacerdotal, more of the regal began now to predominate. Instead of the holy Father appearing amidst his clergy and people, passing from one Basilica to another, as the cycle of the ritual year reqnired, to officiate and preach (like Innocent III), his devotions became now confined to a court-chapel, where amidst his Cardinals, guarded by military, he began to celebrate or

assist in state, withdrawn from public view — and hence the « Cappella Papale, » as distinctive among the high solemnities of Rome, with its distractions and etiquette, full-dress costume, inconvenient crowding, and proverbially insolent Swiss Guard. The Vatican, for the security of the neighbouring fortress, was now perferred to the patriarchal Lateran palace; at this newer residence even the court fashion of dining in public (so different from present manners there) was kept up till the XVI century: and we read in Ranke's history how Paul IV used, like other Popes, till after his suffering from serious illness, to take meals in public, most delicately served twice a day. As to the demonstrations of outward homage peculiar to this court, these certainly ascend to much earlier ages, originating in the profound veneration for the Papacy at the zenith of its moral influences; centuries had past since Emperors held the stirrup and led the mule of the Pope; and it seems needless to refer, like Polidoro Virgilio, to the example of the Caesars' court for the prostration and kissing of the foot, first introduced, indeed, by Diocletian, who issued an edict that all approaching the Emperor, without distinction of grade, should kneel to kiss his sandal, which was first adorned with gold and gems by Caligula, as afterwards worn by other Caesars exacting these new and oriental forms of homage. What losses the revenue of the Papacy must have suffered during this disastrous period, may be imagined; but it is evident with what prudence and self denial its administration was carried on, from the fact that, in 1458, Calixtus III, after reigning only three years, left 115,000 gold pieces, accumulated by his cares exclusively for the Crusade against the Turk; and only six years later, 45,000 gold ducats were bequeathed by Pius II, for the same object to which his fervent spirit had devoted all efforts — the recovery of Constantinople. Long after the Reformation, the private purse of a Pope (Innocent X) was 800,000 crowns per

annum, entirely at his own disposal; and the economy of this court was proved by the investigations of hostile inquirers, who ascertained, in the administration under French imperial government, that the expenditure of the Vatican was not more than 679,000 francs (1) (Tournon, *Etudes statist. sur Rome*). But the Avignon exile marks a transition in Papal History, leading to changes of permanent effect. That unlimited theocratic domination almost attained by Gregory VII, and affected in its fullest sense by Boniface VIII, now certainly began to wane, passing into a phase of modifications reconcileable with other theories. The mysterious principle which, sooner or later, prevents any ascendancy from becoming absolute, and restores the balance to human affairs by raising or depressing, by the mutability of ideas and aims, henceforth appears operating on the theocratic supremacy; and the government of the Church is seen to limit itself within a range more strictly belonging to her competency, less disposed to interfere with other authorities in things not purely her own. The exaggeration of hierarchic claims, founded in justice as her system, amid all the struggles for power by the Tiara, ever was, and attended with benefits to varying states of society as was the whole mechanism of medieval church-government, could involve neither in its triumph nor decline any principle essential to the life of Catholic Christianity.

(1) The statement at page 61, already published by Mr. Maguire, respecting the circumstances of Pius IX, it may be observed, is only to be understood in reference to means strictly private; and the assertion by the above-named gentleman has been verified by the writer of these pages.

Basiliane

Little is heard or seen in Rome of the Greek or Oriental clergy, except on the few occasions when their prelates appear, conspicuous for splendour of costume, at Papal ceremonies, or when their various rites, with wildly mournful national chants — rather wailing than singing — take place at the Propaganda and in the large church of the Theatines daily from the Epiphany to its octave, which recurrences alone announce to the public, or seem to awaken interest in the existence of a body representing Catholicism in foreign garb and tongue. The Greek solemnities are grandly expressive and mystic, but only twice in the year so displayed as to draw any large attendance to S. Atanasio, the church of their college here, where presides the Archbishop of Cyprus, a man of striking aspect when vested and *crowned* in the sanctuary, but otherwise little known beyond those walls. With her usual tenacity to ancient privilege, the Church retains the representation of all Oriental sees now occupied by schismatics; but the Patriarchate of Constantinople may be held by the Prelate acting, under the Cardinal Vicar, as Vicegerent of Rome, without any additional character apparent, or even peculiarity of costume distinguishing his office or person. The Oriental aspects of Catholicism are perhaps less known than any others, though deserving to be considered, for the proof they afford of her self-adapting and indulgent spirit, to repel the imputation sometimes brought against her system, of aiming too exclusively at uniformity — the mere image of inward unity — grasping, instead of the substance, the shadow. To the Maronites, for instance, Rome has allowed the marriage of priests, the vulgar tongue in the liturgy, communion in both kinds; in their populous convents is maintained a rigorous observanee, under bishops governed by a

Patriarch, elected among themselves by the clergy, and only required to be confirmed by the Papal Legate resident in one of the many cloisters on their mountains.

The rule of St. Basil was in many features copied from that of St. Pachomius, a Patriarch of the cenobites in Egypt, and aimed at the union of study and devotion with manual labour, by which those recluses supported themselves and peocured means for charity to others; it also admitted the principle, afterwards adopted by St. Benedict, of receiving children to be educated in the cloisters, till of age to choose for themselves, in full liberty, a final state of life. These Monks held conferences, to discuss questions of ethics or doctrine, just as the followers of Pachomius kept up that intellectual palestra every day. As to the inquiry, when monastic vows originated, it is asserted by Polidoro Virgilio that St. Basil first, about the year 373, required of his disciples, after twelvemonths' probation, the triple engagement to chastity, poverty, and obedience, though more than a century earlier, an epistle of Pope Urban I. mentions the vow by which the elergy bound themselves to the state of poverty, in the sense of abjuring the right to private possessions (*De Rerum Invent.* lib. VII, c. 2). From the time, about 367, that St. Basil sent his brother to Rome to assure Pope Damasus, that the doctrine of his followers was orthodox, as their lives were blameless, under the rule drawn up by him, the order of that Greek Father began to extend itself rapidly over the regions of Latin Christianity, so that by the XI century it had attained great prominence in the West, and in the Neapolitan states alone were, at one period, 500 Basilian monasteries, that of Messina being a parent establishment on which 40 others were dependant. At Otranto, in the XIV century, the Basilians had a school where the Greek language, with other branches of knowledge then commonly cultivated, might be studied by the youth, lay or ecclesias-

tic, without exclusiveness. At Rome these monks had once several churches, the *Sanctum Sanctorum* at the Lateran being among the holy places in their keeping, that have since passed under other care.

Amidst the moral darkness and anarchy of the X century, one of the figures that stands out in brightest relief is that of St. Nilus, a Greek by extraction, though born in Calabria, A. D. 910, who contributed much to extend the Order and revive the spirit of St. Basil in Italian cloisters. Before entering the religious state, he had been a married man; and after that change in his position, Nilus became no dreamy recluse or cowled mendicant, but a beneficent patriarch, eager to attain knowledge and influence for good, ready to reprove the great and denounce the vices of his age, learned and studious. Like St. Benedict, he enforced manual labour as essential to the true character of monastic life, and reproved a Calabrian hermit for giving himself too exclusively to occupations of mind, neglecting those of the body. Three hours daily he spent in copying MS. books; and his calligraphy excited all admiration, being so rapid in execution that once, to acquit himself of a debt of 3 crowns, he completed the transcription of three Psalters in twelve days (Mabillon, *Etudes Monast.*) Driven from his retreat in that southern region by a Saracenic invasion, whose outrages inflicted on him no injury so much lamented as the destruction of his library, he travelled, with 60 followers, first to Gaeta, where soon was founded by them a monastery that became celebrated.

His first journey thence to Rome, was not merely in the spirit of pilgrimage, but also in that of the man of letters, with view to the discovery and purchase of MSS. This visit coincided with the period when Crescentius held the Castle of S. Angelo, supporting an Antipope, John XVII, in his struggle against the Emperor Otho, who defended the

legitimately elected Gregory V; and Nilus having had former intimacy with the Antipope, who was his countryman, had already written to dissuade him from his usurpation of the Holy See. The pretender being fallen and Otho master of the city, he now exerted himself to save him from that vengeance to which Crescentius had been relentlessly sacrificed — but vain his efforts, for the atrocity that disgraced Rome during this age was now about to display one of its most odious excesses. The unfortunate Antipope was paraded through the streets, seated backwards on an ass, his eyes torn out, his nose and ears cut off — such the punishment deliberately inflicted by an Emperor and sanctioned (at least not opposed) by a Pope! Nilus, who had vainly reminded the latter that the victim had claims to mercy, having stood sponsor to Gregory at the baptismal font, and had himself been received with great respect by both Sovereigns in Rome, had obtained promise that the fallen usurper should be consigned to his care; the Pope and Emperor kept their word, in pitiless irony, after reducing him to the state described! Indignant at this outrage against Christian precept by the two highest personages of Church and state, Nilus quitted Rome for his monastery at Gaeta, where he was soon afterwards visited by Otho, in returning from that pilgrimage to Monte Gargano (the sanctuary of St Michael) which Sismondi supposes him to have undertaken urged by remorse. Then ensued a discourse that may be said to represent, as in an apologue, the sublime position of spiritual towards temporal authority. The Emperor offered to lavish bounties on the Abbot; whatever he might ask should be given; but Nilus replied, laying his hand on Otho's breast, « Nothing else do I desire of thy empire but the salvation of thine own soul » (*nihil aliud rogo ab imperio tuo nisi animae tuae salutem*). Hearing that the Prince of Gaeta had determined (apt illustration of the devoteism of that age!) immediately after his death to en-

shrine his remains with accustomed honours, as Patron saint of that territory, the lowly minded Abbot determined to avoid even such posthumous fame, and to abandon that country for ever. In the year 1004, with a few of his companions from the Gaeta community, he arrived in the territory of Tusculum, desiring to find among the Alban hills a place of seclusion for life and unostentatious repose after death. Here, one evening, overtaken in their wanderings by nightfall, they sought shelter in a grotto, or, more probably, the subterranean chamber of some Roman villa, where, in the sleep soon brought on by fatigue, they severally dreamt that the Blessed Virgin appeared to them, commanding to erect a temple on that spot in her name, and to place in its foundations a golden apple, given them as pledge of divine protection, which apple the legend (adding the marvellous to this simple story) represents to have been found by Nilus, a substantial reality, in his hand on awakening, (1)

(1) From the symbol, probably adopted early in representing this Saint, we see how out of a dream was created a reality, just as, by different process, the symbol has, by widely departing from, obscured or totally altered the reality. Thus is St. Nicholas of Myra distinguished by his three golden balls in reference to the story of his pious charities, when, yet a youth, he secretly introduced so many purses of gold at the window of a poor soldier desponding over the prospects of his three daughters, portionless and exposed to peril as they consequently were. The same Saint having converted and baptized Heathen children, a symbolic group has been associated with his figure, giving rise to the story of his resuscitating three unfortunate little ones, who had been killed and *salted* by a wicked innkeeper, to be served for food to his customers. The confusion of ideas resulting in ignorant minds from this blending of fiction with reality, facts with arbitrary emblems, is but too apparent in Italy. By the large and clear intellect of Muratori this was perceived, and lamented in a pub-

Their first step was to place in that chamber an image of the Virgin which, it seems, they had carried with them in their flight — probably one of the many pictures brought from Greece during the Iconoclast persecution — and before this they erected an iron grating, whence the name, found in documents of the XI century, *Grottaferrata*, though supposed indeed by Calmet to have been already attached to that cell among the Roman ruins.

The Count of Tusculum, whose two sons by violence usurped the Papal throne, hastened to visit the hermits in this newly chosen retreat. « Servant of God (he addressed Nilus) I am not worthy thou shouldst enter under the roof of a sinner like me; but behold, by house, my city, and all my territory — dispose of them as seemeth best unto thee.» The only donation desired was that of the ruins where they had improvised their humble sanctuary, supposed by some writers no other than those of Cicero's Tusculan villa. The process by which the solitary hermitage rose into a stately Abbey, and the isolated recluse became surrounded by a numerous community, is familiarly made known in annals of medieval Christianity. Soon after the erection of a church, on this spot, by aid of the offerings that came pouring in, tokens of piety or remorse, Nilus felt and announced his ap-

blication deserving to be a manual for religious instruction in every school of this country, where, among other instances of vulgar error, he points out those arisen in regard to the Hermit St. Antony of Egypt: commonly represented with a flame in his hand and a pig at his feet, to signify the fire of divine love and the subjection of the lower instincts in the religious life, this saint has been adopted by the popular mind as Patron against all dangers of fire, protector over cattle and swine! Well may serious feelings of regret supersede the sense of the ludicrous, when the full consequences of such misapprehension be considered (V, Muratori, *Della Regolata Devozione*)

proaching death, to meet which he desired to be carried into the scarce finished choir, and there expired, aged 95, in 1005, twenty years after which date that church was solemnly consecrated by Pope John XIX, being then a temple with nave and aisles divided by fluted columns of white marble (the spoils of Roman Antiquity), with an atrium supported by pillars of Egyptian granite, embellished and enriched by paintings, precious vestments, illuminated choir-books ec, ordered and bestowed by the Abbot, St. Bartholomew, first successor to St. Nilus. As monastic influences increased, more costly offerings and substantial donations continued adding to the importance of this sanctuary, which became an Archimandrite, with 22 churches, like the parishes of an episcopal see, subject to it. Two hundred monks inhabited these cloisters, and perpetually kept up the Greek psalmody at its altars. Vast possessions, not only in the Papal States, but in Calabria and Apulia, pertained to its feudal dominions, and at the highest prosperity a revenue of 100,000 crowns is supposed to have been the annual support of Grottaferrata, in great part appropriated (according to the high old principles of the monastic institution) to a system of vast hospitalites and charities, two regular hospitals being kept open for the sick, of both sexes, in connection with though distinct from the cloisters, whilst all superfluities of the refectory were daily distributed to the poor at the gates. More than one Pope fixed his temporary residence here, as Innocent III, and Gregory IX, both of whom dated briefs or bulls from this monastery. Here were passed the last years of his life in penitence and piety atoning for the antecedent, by Benedict IX, nephew to the Count of Tusculum, the boy Pope (1033), who, yielding to the persuasions of the Abbot Bartholomew, had renounced a dignity for which he was in no way worthy, and in retaining which he had

only given scandal (1). His monument still remains, though but a fragment, with the imperial Eagle in mosaic, no longer accompanied by the Seraphim and bronze cross that formerly distinguished it. During the fierce civil wars between the Romans and their neighbours, which led to the total destruction of Tusculum, in 1191, these Basilian Monks took refuge with the Benedictines at Subiaco, whither they carried with them relics and treasures, but returned when the tempest had passed over. The next century Grottaferrata must have been prosperous and ample in accomodation, for, in 1241, Frederick II lodged here with his army warring against Gregory IX, during a long period of hostilities that laid desolate the Campagna all around Rome, and no doubt proved grievous enough in the burdens imposed on these peaceful monks. After about a year's protracted siege of Rome, Frederick, on the death of the Pope, withdrew his troops from this monastery, but not without robbing it (in early example to the spoilers of more modern conquest in Italy) of the bronze sculptures, figures of a man and a bull with mouth discharging water, that adorned a fountain. Till the XV century the Abbots here kept up the ancient rule; but after the 39th in their series had been removed, Pius II, considering the decline of the revenues, decided for a radical reform, assigning this monastery *in commendam* to superiors no longer obliged to residence, nor necessarily of the Order. This marked a period of decline in the story of Grottaferrata; but still were its weath and accomodations such, that, twenty years later (about 1842), a Duke of Calabria, on his hostile march through the Roman provinces, was able to

(1) Benedictus IX, a comitibus Tusculanis — adhuc puer paterna potentia violentiaque in S. Apostolicam sedem intrusus est. Ughelli, « Italia Sacra. »

lodge with 3000 foot and 20 squadrons of horse in these buildings, it may be imagined with what inconvenience, if not outrage to their lawful occupants. The 3rd. Abbot *in Commendam* was the Cardinal who became Pope as Julius II; by him were commenced the new cloisters and an abbatial palace, never finished according to the design, in the incompleted buildings of which the Della Rovere armorial Oak is still seen on the capitals of columns. To that Cardinal are also due the fortifications, one of the peculiar and picturesque features of this monastery, reminding us of the warlike spirit that afterwards led the same Julius, even when wearing the Triple Crown, to buckle on armour, and command troops at the siege of Mirandola.

Formerly the Greek rite was maintained here with all its forms and splendours; but, on the transient union between the Eastern and Western Churches brought about, fruitlessly indeed for results, by the Council of Florence, the celebrated Bessarion (himself a Basilian), and other Abbots of the Order agreed in advising the adoption, since enforced, of the Latin vestments, with the Latin form of the wafer, for the Mass in all Basilian monasteries throughout Italy. Benedict XIV ordered that the Abbot, Prior, and fathers styled *maestri* at Grottaferrata, should always celebrate in the Greek rite, whilst leaving, for other services at these altars, as to the present day practised, the Latin liturgy translated into Greek, with Latin forms and vestments. The same Cardinal Bessarion, who received this monastery in commendam, proved a liberal benefactor, recovered to its possession many lost properties, restored its buildings, bestowed vestments and sacred vessels of price, together with some valuable Greek codes, among others the patriarchal *Eucologium* celebrated among liturgical MSS. authorities. In the XVI century was the first loss sustained to the antiquities of art in this Basilian temple: the choir was rebuilt, and an entire series

of medieval frescoes, along an attic, were sacrificed for the construction of a carved and gilded ceiling. In 1713 was begun a new monastery with funds mainly supplied by Clement XI; and 40 years later, one of those architectural outrages too often permitted in Rome, was effected by the enclosing of antique columns within heavy square piers, to the lamentable detriment of grace and dignity in these aisles. During two French invasions, Republican and Imperial, the monks here remained undisturbed, till the year 1810, when, being required to take the oath of allegiance to the Napoleonic government, they had the courage to refuse, and were consequently expelled from their cloisters, one only being left to officiate as parish priest. The last Abbot Commendator was Cardinal Consalvi, who renounced the baronial jurisdiction, a remnant of feudalism, still attached to this office, in 1816, and conferred benefit on the interests of art by employing Camuccini to restore the much admired frescoes of Domenichino illustrating the story of SS. Nilus and Bartholomew. Spending the last days of his life in complete retirement here, that distinguished statesman was himself an instance of what has been laid down as axiom in Papal history that the Cardinal prime Minister, however able and popular his government, never succeeds to his master on the throne (v. Galeotti, *Sovranità e Governo temporale*). « Because (observes Cantu) the Cardinal Consalvi, being acquainted with courts and with misfortune, desired to concede as much as comported with dignity, he was unacceptable to the zealous party, who, on the death of Pius VII, wished for a Pontiff more rigorous respecting discipline, and less compliant towards the Courts of Europe » (1) From the many royal gifts

(1) The question of resuming diplomatic relations with Rome was mooted in England during Consalvi's administration, as it has been in recent years, when the refusal on one side to receive an ecclesiastic, on the other to send a layman, led to its negation under Pius IX.

received by him; in his long diplomatic career, he procured a fund disinterestedly appropriated to the erection of a monument to the Pontiff he had so intelligently served; and three jewelled snuff-boxes, diplomatic presents, were bequeathed to complete the façades of as many churches (*Ara Coeli*, the *Consolazione*, and *S. Rocco*). In 1833 the Pope appointed Cardinal Mattei, Bishop of Frascati, visitor, for the spiritual and temporal, to Grottaferrata, and in him also this Monastery found an energetic benefactor. He recovered for it an inheritance, long diverted into other channels, of 6000 scudi, left by the Marchioness Passerini, with the condition of annually conferring 90 Scudi in dowries on three portionless girls of the neighbouring village. He caused the adjacent cemetary to be prepared as common place of interment for the parish; the choir to be enlarged, and the ancient narthex renewed — in a style *called* Gothic, but certainly with poor claims to that character. The Basilian community had before this time so dwindled away, that it was considered a revival when only 12 fathers were assembled, and

Not long afterwards was addressed a most courteous letter by George IV to that Cardinal, but the hand to open it was cold in death when it arrived. Leo XII took this occasion to present a justification of the principles of the Roman Court and Church to the English nation, followed by the declaration of the Vicars Apostolic in that country as to the real bases of their faith and the limits of the obedience due to Rome (v. Cantu, *Storia di Cento Anni*, vol 11, 286). Artaud's report of the Conclave after the death of Pius VII («Life of Leo XII») shows that at no stage did the votes for Consalvi approach a majority; and a rhyming epigram of the day, passing in review all the Cardinals there assembled, observes of him who became Pope :

Chi vuol che l' ordine
In tutto venga
Il voto darà
A Della Genga.

a few accessions made to the Novitiate, after the improvements undertaken by the Cardinal Bishop (v. Moroni, *Dizionario di Erudizione*) Then indeed followed a restoration of the studies, Greek, Philosophy and Theology, long fallen into neglect; the Archives, also neglected, were again set in order, and some additions made to the library, which, though but a remnant of the former, now contains about 6000 volumes and 230 codes, mostly Greek, among others the above-named *Euchologium*, which, brought to the Council of Florence by George Vari, a Monk of Candia, was admitted by the fathers of that assembly as a liturgic authority, given by the original owner to Cardinal Cesarini, by him to Bessarion, and thus eventually came to be deposited at Grottaferrata, though the celebrated library of that Greek Cardinal was presented by him to the Venetian Republic. The Basilian collection here, as restored after the disasters of lawless times, was reputed among the first in Italy, and, in the XV century, gave employment to lay calligraphists, appointed expressly for copying or restoring its MS. volumes, many of which, noted for the beauty of their illuminations, were removed to the Vatican by Sixtus V and Paul V, others to the Barberini palace by Urban VIII. In no sense is the Basilian Order now conspicuous, or prominent in any of the great transactions of the Church; and but for the beauties of situation and art distinguishing this Monastery, its existence, beyond ecclesiastical circles, might scarcely be heard of even in the neighbouring towns — not to say in Rome, though only about 12 miles' distant. The inmates here, now numbering about 24, monks and novices, are all Italian, being in name only a Greek Order; and the fathers now dedicate their time to the education of youth in the higher classes, receiving boarders who go through the usual routine of studies admitted in Italian colleges, much on the same plan as that of the Benedictines for their alum-

ni. Reduced as we now see it, the architecture of this church is wretched, attesting only the decline of this art during modern times in Italy, without character or dignity. A lofty campanile is externally the only feature of the medieval left, but wanting one of the eight storeys of narrow arcades, taken down after being injured by a thunderbolt, which also caused the loss of a pillar crowning the whole, with a marble ball representing the golden apple bestowed by the Virgin upon St. Nilus — a treasure still preserved (tradition assures us) in the foundations of this fine old belfry! Another model of the mysterious fruit remains in the atrium, where also is shown a black cross, set in the wall, as giving the exact measure of the height of Our Lord — similarly with the frame-work in the Lateran cloisters, a slab supported on columns, to which attaches the same tradition. The mosaics of the narthex and nave, and a graceful Gothic altar-canopy in the former, are, internally, all that remains here of early Art: over the inner portal the group of these mosaics representing the Saviour, the Blessed Virgin, and St. John the Baptist, with a smaller kneeling figure, either the Abbot Bartholomew or the Pope who consecrated this church. Over the chancel arch is the singular series of figures, the Saviour and Apostles, the former symbolized only by the Lamb seated, not upon, but below the heavenly throne, with six Apostles at each side, also on thrones and holding scrolls or books, each with one hand raised to bless, and a flame of fire hovering over the head, no emblem otherwise distinguishing them, but the identity made clear by the names vertically inscribed in Greek over each, nearest to the throne of the Lamb being Saints Peter and Andrew. If really of the XI century (date of the consecration), when, observes Kugler, « the deeply sunken Byzantine school shared ascendancy with a native style itself sufficiently debased, » — an epoch of which are so few remains, in any

Roman churches, except the frescoes at S. Urbano, these mosaics may be allowed greater value than any other works of that period in this region. Over the high altar is one of those old Greek pictures, a Virgin and Child, still (in spite of evidence from artistic and sacred history) popularly ascribed to St. Luke — and, like the rest, of repulsive ugliness, this, till the restorations in 1577, having hung over the altar of a crypt no longer open, on the supposed spot of the sepulture of St. Nilus, where his relics, with those of St. Bartholomew, used to be exposed till the year 1300. In the chapel quite apart from the church, dedicated to that Founder, are the frescoes executed by Domenichino at the age of 29, forming the chief attraction that now brings the tourist here; and indeed all that has been said in their praise scarcely prepares for the impression received from the truth and natural feeling, the dramatic yet unexaggerated grouping of this admirable series, which has the additional merit of telling us more respecting the lives of the two sainted Monks, Nilus and his successor, in their legendary aspects, than, without some research, can be found in books. Admirable for majestic character also is the series, above these groups, of the principal Fathers of the Greek Church, unique in its completeness among ecclesiastical paintings in the Roman sacred buildings.

Though now deprived of its ancient beauty, Grottaferrata from a distance forms an object highly picturesque, with its heavy battlements, round towers and high belfry, seen through the long avenues or clustering foliage of the ancient forests that clothe these lower slopes of the Tusculan heights — one of the fascinating sylvan landscapes that contrasts most pleasingly with the sterile grandeur of the Campagna. But there is one occasion when, instead of the usual tranquillity of this woodland region, a veritable tumult, of business and pleasure united, occupies these lawns

and causes the old woods to re-echo far around — the Fairs coinciding with festivals of the Blessed Virgin, in March and September, especially the former, when, the stranger population of Rome being still at its height after the Winter season, the excursion hither is among the fashionable amusements of tourists. Fairs, usually connected with sacred Anniversaries (as in ancient Greece they were held during the Olympic Games) are still characteristic gatherings in the Roman States, retaining more of their olden importance than elsewhere, partly from the tenacity to precedent, partly from unfavorable commercial circumstances, and deficiency of communication between large towns — not but that several Popes, in later ages, have exerted themselves ably to promote industry and trade. That of the 25th March, on this spot, is animated, amusing, and attended by crowds of peasants from the neighbouring mountains and villages; but, as I have observed, becoming less picturesque year after year, the gaily varied costumes and rural amusements gradually giving place more and more to the mere matter-of fact in buying and selling. Late Revolutions are continually cited to account for such decline in all the popular pleasures and activities of Rome or its environs — as, there is too much reason to fear, they have left still worse effects, unfavorable to manners and piety. At the last recurrence of this Fair the population was immense, the display of edibles amazing, most prominent of all, amidst cheeses, sausages and cakes, being the piles of bacon that completely lined the banks flanking the roads under these long avenues of trees — even this detail reminding us of classic antiquity, when, as we read, the ancient grazing, not unlike the present, reared and used for the table more than any other the quadruped which Italian delicacy prefers to designate only as «the black animal». Toys and trinkets, in the usual admixture with rosaries and tawdry little pictures of Saints, were not

wanting; and in the very small assortment of books, I observed the prominence of devotions to the Madonna beside the *Filosofo Errante* and *Famoso Casamia*, well-known prophetic almanacks. On these, but these occasions alone, the Basilian church is thronged to excess, by the devout and curious, Italians, French, English; but I have found its solemnities almost unattended on another great anniversary, after walking, in the sultriness of June, from Frascati for the sake of the festival of St. Basil, at this sanctuary of his own followers. The splendid ceremonial, the burst of light and incense-breathing dimness produced one of those effects, as one entered from the burning stillness of an Italian Summer's noonday, that so often impress in the contrasts between the sanctuary and externals in this country. Yet when thoughts go back to the Monastery of old, its large hospitalities and genial influences, it is painful to compare with that mediæval picture the realities before as here, looking round on that dreary little village of Grottaferrata, without one token of life or improvement, not even the indispensable *café*, (1) or any place of refreshment holding out promise to the weary. And the neighbouring town of Marino, looking so well from a distance, and tolerably populous, with a large collegiate church, is but another specimen of what Johnson calls that « gloomy slumber of the stagnant soul; » in the absence of all that bespeaks social movement, the squalid lifelessness that ominously distinguishes the towns and villages near Rome, evincing in fact a stage of civilization about the lowest that could consist with Christianity — why such

(1) Recently has been opened here such an « institution, » as the Café veritably is in this country, so that it is difficult to imagine Italian society without it — see its claims humorously supported in a spirited comedy, « La Bottega del Caffè » by Goldoni, wisely and archly in an essay by Gasparo Gozzi.

should be found under the immediate government of the Church, and how to be remedied this evil, being indeed most serious questions for the statesman and philanthropist.

Not long since the Governor of Marino, a man of venerable years, was assassinated, in daylight and in his own house: the speedily judged murderer was condemned to meet his fate by the guillotine opposite that very house; and Pius IX, reciving a deputation from the local authorities, conveyed merited reproof in enjoining them henceforth to look with more conscientions care to the education of this commonalty, whilst be ordered that the support of the widow and orphans left by this victim should be laid to their charge.

The Basilians had once a college in Rome, where ten monks studied onder a Prior, maintained by contributions from their houses in the Neapolitan States; and shortly after the opening of this, 1631, they founded an academy for the cultivation of Greek and Latin letters under the patronage of Cardinal Barberini, nephew to Urban VIII. Their literary *fasti* were published by one of the members; but the learned association could not maintain itself long, its sessions, after five years, being discontinued in 1640, but a few years subsequently to which the college itself, with its church, was abandoned for want of the funds failing to arrive from the Neapolitan communities. Montfaucon gives a catalogue description of their valuable collection of Greek codes, examined by him at the hospice (or priory) he found them occupying in Rome at the beginning of the last century, these treasures having been recently procured by the then Abbot from Calabria. In those southern cloisters they had lain long neglected in consequence of the total oblivion into which the Greek language had fallen there, though once not only in ecclesiastical, but (in a corrupt form indeed) popular use, till Sixtus IV had ordered the offices in the Calabrian and

Sicilian houses of the Order to be no longer Greek, but exclusively Latin. An Archbishop in Calabria Ultra, Montfaucon tells us, had a large and precious store of Greek MSS, the remnant of Basilian libraries, left in his keeping, which Ughelli (*Italia Sacra*) speaks of having seen; annoyed by the frequent applications for leave to examine those treasures, that Prelate ordered them all to be *buried* in the earth, thus ridding himself for ever of the importunities of *savans*. How little the Greek is *now* studied in Rome, even for ecclesiastical education, has often been remarked with surprise; and this neglect for the language of the New Testament seems not only discreditable to the Metropolis of the Church, but a dereliction from her own precedents of practise in the time of the most learned Pontiffs. It was through the protection of one, among the greatest patrons of literature and science that ever sat on a throne, Nicholas V, that Plato, Aristotle, Herodotus, Thucydides, Diodorus, Strabo, first became generally koown, in the originals or recent translations, to Europe; and the first translation of the Iliad into verse (after several in prose had preceded) was a demand from that great Pontiff, leading to a competition in which, from among numerous concurrents, his own voice declared the victor, Orazio Romano, whom he rewarded by the appointment of Pontific Secretary. In 1539 two celebrated Cardinals, Cervini and Farnese, engaged a well-known printer, Blado, to publish all the most precious Greek MSS. of the Vatican; the former of those Cardinals, raised to the Papacy as Marcellus II, projected establishing at that library a separate Press for Greek and Latin works, which was eventually carried into effect (Marcellus being prevented by premature death), and the Vatican Press, together with that of the Camera Apostolica, established, by Sixtus V — Remembering such antecedents, I have not only found cause for surprise at the ignorance of Greek in modern Rome, but, on

one occasion, was at the same time convinced how little the claims to respect for such a system of censorship on books as is enforced in this City — not indeed that it can long be observed without the persuasion of its utter inutility for any purpose of good. The question as to the delivery of a Greek Testament, from a number of books already examined and passed through the Custom House, having to be referred to the *Padre Maestro* of the Sacred Palaces, always a Dominican, who is chief of the censorial department for the entire States, to him the unintelligible book was sent, as beyond the ken of *dogana* officials. I had to assure the venerable Father (no doubt a man of theological learning in the position his merits had attained) that this really was the work described — but in vain: it could not be consigned to me without *other* testimony that its contents were such as represented, because in a language which the functionary at the head of the Roman Censorship, and resident ex officio in the Papal Palace, did not understand!

Regular Canons

The regular Clergy who, as first constituted into a body by Eusebius, Bishop of Vercelli, about A. D. 350, had formed a kind of episcopal senate, in communities residing at their Cahedrals, began, from the X century, to abandon that simpler and disciplined mode of life, desiring more personal freedom with equal distribution of the diocesan revenues for their support. *Canon* was the term originally applied to all the servers of charches, from highest to lowest, even down to bellmen and grave-diggers; and the primitive mode of distributing to all their shares of food and clothing, something like the system of a modern barrack, was called *liberata* or *sportula* (because viands used thus to be given in baskets), from which former term derives our « livery. » Se-

veral saintly Prelates endeavoured to restore the community life of the regular Canons, but only with partial success, eventually leading to a division between the Seculars and Regulars, as retained to the present day, the former at liberty, alike with the parochial clergy, though bound to assist at all offices in their cathedrals, the latter leading the community life in monasteries under a rule attributed to St. Augustine, though variously modified by the founders of separate congregations. It is assumed by so high an authority as St. Thomas Aquinas that the rule of regular Canons was instituted by the Apostles, exemplified in the mode of life to which they dedicated themselves immediately after the Ascension; others refer its origin to Pope Urban 1, early in the 111 century; and Panvinio (in his continuation of Platina) asserts that Gelasius 1, about 495, first placed the Regular Canons of St Augustine at the Lateran Basilica. That great Doctor of the Latin Church, though the extant rule ascribed to him is rejected by critical historians, has thus from time immemorial passed as founder of this Order; and in the old Latin verses inscribed round the Library of St. Alban's Abbey, the saint is made to speak for himself:

Per me lata prius stat normaque canonicatus

(Dugdale, *Monasticon*) It was in the later years of the XIV century that the revived Institution of Canons became widely extended over Europe, so far indeed as, at one time, to have possessed 4,520 monasteries, of which 700 in Italy; but at the period Helyot wrote that historian reckons only 45 Abbeys, 56 Priories, and 21 Provostships, besides several houses of Canonesses under their rule. In England their establishments early became conspicuous, as Waltham, Hyde, Walsingham, founded under Edward the the Confessor, Lanthon under Henry 1; and one of the earliets charts, after the Conquest, given by Dugdale, is a donation from the latter King of St. Martin's church, Dover, with

all its appurtenances, to the Regular Canons, in 1100. (1) In the beautifully picturesque story of the origin of Lanthon

(1) Regular Canons formed, in fact, the chief representation of the monastic body in our country, their numbers and influence being unapproached. In Ireland they had as many monasteries as all the other Orders put together, possessed almost all cures and benefices, occupied almost all chapters of cathedral and collegiate churches. When, in 1519, Wolsey undertook, in virtue of a bull from Leo X, the reform of the Religious Orders in the aggregate, it was with the Regular Canons he begun that task, to be soon interrupted by measures more sweeping. For a minutely drawn, interesting picture of the English monastic life, in the XII century, may be consulted the lengthy rules and precepts for the Order founded by Gilbert of Sempringham, (canonized by Innocent III in 1202) one of whose clauses is remarkable for its absolute prohibition of paintings and sculptures, except only the Cross — « cruces tamen pictas, quae sunt lignea, habemus. » Dugdale v. 1.

It was at a Priory of Canons, once conspicuous among the English, Dumnow, founded by Robert Fitzwalter in 1104, that was kept up the venerable institution of the « Flitch of Bacon, » immortalized by the pencil of Stotdart. The happy Benedict who could depose on oath that he had never, for a year and a day, repented himself of wedlock, knelt on two sharp stones in the churchyard during the long ceremonial prescribed, after which he was entitled to receive the savoury prize, borne first before him in a procession that passed round that cemetary attended by all the monks and a shouting crowd from the neighbourhood. The form of oath is preserved by Dugdale:

Ye shall swear by custom of confession
Is ever yon made nuptial transgression,
Be ye either married man or wife
If you have brawls or contentious strife,
Or since the parish clark said, Amen,
You wished yourselves unmarried agen

But (alas for the scantily supplied evidence to matrimonial bliss in old England! *only* three instances the last in 1510, are recorded of this intesting attestation having been made and rewarded.

Abbey, and the hermits whose retreat in a romantic valley of Wales led to this foundation, as advised of Archbishop Anselm, is a comment on the reputation of Religious Orders, that strikingly, because unmaliciously, attests the early decline of the ancient spirit once so nobly asserting itself. Stating the motives of those recluses in preferring the rule of St. Angustine to all others, the annalist tells us they objected to the « Black Monks » (Benedictines), because to them was imputed a taste for superfluities, and to the Cistercians on account of their haughty exclusiveness, their desire to secure the advantages of worldly state (*singulariter enim incedere dicuntur, et aliis Religiosis parum communicare ec,*) Even these estimable Augustinians were not, in all their English communities, exempt from the same tendency to decay; and when the monastery of Hyde was rebuilt in the year 1111, St. Grimbold, to whose care the Bishop William of Winton had confided the task of reform, found it necessary to eject the Canons (then passed into the character of seculars, as the narration implies) on account of their evil manners (Dugdale, V 1.) — evidences to reaction against requirements perhaps too highly strained for frail humanity, that instruct, however painfully, and which the severe impartiality of the Historian cannot pass over or neglect interpreting.

The Adriatic Tremiti Isles, off the coast of Apulia, acquired as a sovereign possession by these Canons, became a place of pilgrimage for the sake of their celebrated sanctuary, whose fortified buildings the mariner, sailing in those waters, never failed to greet with reverence, as the captain of each ship ordered to salute with three guns, in passing, the Blessed Virgin of Tremiti. The offshoots sprung at different times from this Order, originated in various motives or ideas. Thus, in Spain, the « Canons of S. Iago and the Sword, » required from the postulant, according to genuine

hidalgo and *cavallero* principles, among terms of admission, proof that, for three generations, none of his house had been Jew or Heretic, trader, factor, money-changer, or *courtier*! The « Canons of the two Lovers » derived that romantic title, it is supposed, from the story of a gentleman of Rouen, who, having aspired to the hand of a fair lady of that town, and being refused both by the parents and the unyielding beauty, was contemptuously required by the father, as pretext for positive dismissal, to perform conditions believed impossible — namely, to *carry* the lady up to the summit of a very steep mountain — which he accomplished, but expired from fatigue on the spot. Her heart at last touched by the sacrifice of fatal result, she wept, loved, and mourned for him, so deeply that at last sorrow brought her to the grave, and the parents had both buried on the height of that mountain, where afterwards rose a sanctuary commemorating, for once, that *human* love which, perhaps has caused many a cloistered sister, like Eloisa, «with every bead to shed too soft a tear.» — The communities of Canonesses were, in former times, numerous, and invested with dignity to which the highest ladies of the land often aspired, though their title eventually became a mere secular distinction, and in later ages has been conferred, under the German Empire, upon Protestant females of rank, or simply as an honorary prefix. Still residing in cloisters, and wealthy, at the beginning of the last century, it would seem that, although observing a rule, those ladies were more anxious to keep up the aristocratic than monastic spirit, as we read of a Princess Gabrielle, daughter to the Duke of Lorraine, elected Abbess by the Canonesses of Remiremont, in 1705, being then in her 3rd year; and two other Princesses, of Orleans and Lorraine, in the same manner becoming « reverend Mothers » elect at the respective ages of 7 and 2.! If all the scandals ever raked together against religious

Orders, all the imputations of darkly concealed or overt abuses in the cloister, as the catalogue was swollen by the counsellors of Henry VIII, or as their import is philosophically analyzed in the « Anatomy of Melancholy, » could be established on a firm basis, the weight of evidence might be counterbalanced by, what is no matter of conjecture, but historic fact, the records namely of self-devotedness through long ages, in life-dedication to the suffering and abandoned, by which thousands of both sexes, in the many asylums consecrated to such cares, have made one offering of their days, not by the sacrifices of a mystic half-suicidal asceticism resting in self, but by that Christian heroism which finds by administering to others' affliction the healing virtue for its own. To this family, the brothers and sisters of mercy, the Order of Canons has added many congregations conforming generally to the Augustinian rule. The Antonists, or Hospitallers (confirmed by Urban II in 1096) were founded in that century by Gaston, a gentleman of Dauphiny, who had been struck with leprosy, but recovered, after a pilgrimage, with his father, to a shrine where St. Antony was specially invoked, in gratitude for which both father and son appropriated all their means to the establishing of a fraternity for the relief of sufferers in the same terrible disease, its members for a time continuing laics, but ultimately taking vows in the regular life as Augustinian Canons. Dugdale gives an interesting picture of their life and labours at the hospice of St. Julian, near St. Alban's, where both sexes were received, but kept entirely apart, dedicated severally to the care of males and females suffering leprosy; also of another hospice, founded by Athelstan in the X century, for harbouring travellers in a forest region of Yorkshire rendered dangerous by the wolves infesting it. These Hospitallers are not met with in Rome; but a similar self-dedication is exemplified in the Order of « Crucifers » (or *Agonizanti*) found-

ed in the XVI century by St. Camillo de Lellis, a native of the Abruzzi province, approved by Sixtus V, and raised by Clement VIII to the rank of a monastic society, whose members, distinguished by a red cross on their black habit, gratuitously attend the sick at their own houses, in whatever class and whenever summoned; also in that founded by the Spanish St. John Calabita (familiarly called *Fatebenfratelli*), who receive male patients at their hospital on the Island of St. Bartholomew, whatever the nationality and without distinction of creed. Their founder, also in the XVI century, was a soldier who [redacted] experiences reminding of St. Ignatius's story, while suffering from a wound received impressions that altered his whole character and life, on his recovery dedicating himself entirely to the service of the sick, and with such zeal as to gain the title, popularly applied to him, « St. John of God. » Deceased, 1550, at Granada, he was canonized by Alexander VIII., and his Order, not long afterwards, established with a hospital in Rome, on a site that strikingly combines Pagan and Christian associations, in this Island of St. Bartholomew having stood the Temple of Aesculapius, where for a time used to be entertained the patients applying to the healing powers of that god, whilst his priests affected to work cures upon them — one of the few approximations to anything like a hospital in the Pagan Metropolis, which, however, had its *Valetudinarii*, or private infirmaries for slaves, in the houses of some proprietors. Those asylums called « Asclepii, » at the temples of the God of Medicine, availed indeed little for the poor, as rich presents were expected by their priests from the patients received, to which Lucian alludes, calling the temple of Aesculapius at Pergamos the *shop* of that deity. There is a solitary region on the Coelian Hill, overlooked only by old churches and Pagan ruins, one of those many sites in this City more than picturesque, because full of that which speaks to thought

and memory, where the eye is arrested by a graceful fragment of medieval antiquity over the closed portal of a deserted convent, in form of a marble arched canopy and colonnettes enclosing a mosaic in a circlet, with a group deeply significant: the Saviour enthroned, a blue and red cross in his hand, his arms extended towards two smaller figures, on the right a European, on the left an African, and the epigraph around in gold letters, *Signum Sanctae Trinitatis Captivorum* — expressive monument to the moral and aim in the most beneficent agency of the Church, through whose whole history speaks the principle of opposition to that great outrage against redeemed Humanity-slavery — an evil she assailed, now by requiring its instant unconditional suppression, now by striking at its root, denouncing its theory, honouring those in bonds, rewarding those who set free — the latter her more usual mode of action, though in regard to slavery the mandate was sometimes direct, unconditioned.

Thus did the Council of London, under St. Anselm's presidence, decree in 1102: *Ne quis illud nefarium negotium quo hactenus solebant in Anglia homines sicut bruta animalia venundari deinceps ullatenus facere praesumat.* On principle were the Bishops of every diocese enjoined to protect the serfs against oppression from their feudal lords; and the emancipation of multitudes was obtained by indirect means or moral influence, among the meritorious works of mercy this being especially counselled to the penitent on deathbeds, *in remedium animae*; while to proclaim the sanctity of its intent, the act of manumission was invested with religious formalities, accomplished before the altar. (Alzog, *Hist de l'Eglise*; Hurter, *Tableaux des Moeurs* ec; Balmes, *Catholicism* ec). The branch of the Regular Canons to whom belonged that deserted convent still retaining above its gates the symbolic picture alluded to, was offspring, in a certain sense, from the fervid mind of Innocent III, by whom, it is believed, that very mosaic was

placed on the front of their church, *S. Tommaso in Formis.* John dc Matha, a theologian at Paris, when celebrating his first Mass in the episcopal chapel there, is said to have beheld a vision, at the Elevation, of an Angel vested in white with a red and blue cross on the breast, the hands placed on the heads of two figurcs, one a European, the other a Moor, as if to recommend them to mercy. The Bishop, who was present and also conscious of the apparition, recommended him to go to Rome for counsel from Pope Innocent, then governing the Church; but previously he passed through probation in the eremite life, together with another pious recluse, Felix de Valois. Conversing beside a fountain in their solitude, thay were astonished by the appearance of a fair white stag, with a cross between its antlers, blue and white, precisely like that on the Angel's breast seen beside the altar. Their inference was that God had called them to some great work of holy enterprise; and both journeyed to Rome for consulting that energetic Pontiff, who gave distinctness and direction to their purpose, pointing out the Christians in bondage to the Saracen, as fit objects for every exertion of charity. Thus originated the Order of Redemptorists, or (as Innocent III preferred to style them) *Trinitarians.*

That Pope had assembled a congregation of Cardinals and prelates to consult on this institution, and, celebrating Mass before them at the Lateran, it is said that he also saw, whilst elevating the Host, the same vision of an Angel between two captives. After this sanction, the two hermits returned to France, where Philip Augustus liberally assisted them, and among other donations received, towards the furtherance of their project, was that of the estate on which the mysterious stag had appeared to them, where soon rose a monastery that continued their central house in after ages, called, in memory of that portent, *Cerfroy.* Among the first persons of note who joined the community here, were two

Englishmen, John Anglick and William Scott, both afterwards sent by De Matha to Morocco to treat with the Miramolin for the redemption of Christian captives; and in the year 1200, were brought from that country, through their efforts, 186 delivered from bondage. Legends recount the miraculous voyage of John de Matha, together with 120 liberated by his means, from Tunis to Ostia, without helm or sails, his vessel having been thus sent adrift by wicked men in league against him, but saved by divine protection, through the prayers of the Saint, who knelt on the deck, holding his crucifix, during the whole voyage! (*Perfetto Leggendario*) The holy man had received from Pope Innocent the church, with a residence, called *St. Thomas in Formis*, from the neighbouring arcades of a ruined acqueduct. Here he died, and was buried, in 1213; but, many years afterwards, his body was *stolen* (one of those examples of pious fraud that seem to have been deemed really meritorious), to be carried to another sanctuary of the Order in Spain; and because his monks acted so unworthily as to desert their monastery here, with its hospital, on a visitation of plague in Rome, 1348, it was given to be governed in *commendam* till 1395, and at that date assigned, with its then considerable revenues, to the chapter of St. Peter's. A decline in the spirit and activity of the whole Order had become too evident in the XVI century, which its General Chapters endeavoured to remedy, but with little success, till two zealous men, who had lived together as hermits in France, founded a new branch, converting their hermitage into a monastery, as sanctioned by the Pope, in 1578. A more thorough reform was attempted, in 1635, by a French Cardinal commissioned from Rome: it was then found that, so far from carrying out the pious intention and prescriptions of the Founder and of the Pope, who himself drew up their rule, by dividing their revenues, one third for each monastic family, one third for the hos-

ital, and the remainder for the redemption of captives — at their house in Paris, of 10,000 livres' revenue, only 18 livres were annually appropriated to that last object!

In Spain the services of this Order had been early and zealously dedicated to the interests for which the circumstances of that country peculiarly claimed their regards, in the continual struggle between Christians and Moors; and here originated, in 1596, the reformed branch, with a return to the austerest observance, called « Discalced Trinitarians, » introduced into Italy, by desire of Clement XI, in 1705, thus forming the sixth of its provinces, still under a separate Vicar General resident in Spain. The superiors of these provinces, over which the whole Order is distributed, are in France perpetual, in Italy and Spain triennial. In England were once 43 Trinitarian monasteries, in Ireland 52, in Scotland 9; but all abandoned and left to ruin after the Reformation, 250 was the number of their establishments throughout Europe, even in recent times, before the great French Revolution. From the date when their constitutions were finally confirmed by Gregory IX, in the XIII century, during which two devoted men, both canonized, Pierre de Nolasque and Raymond de Pennafort, were the directing spirits of the Order, their recognised title has been *Orde Beatae Mariae de Mercede* — or of the « Virgin of Mercy » — though in Italy that of Trinitarian remains more commonly applied. Rome, in the year 1701, beheld an affecting spectacle on the arrival of 141 captives from Tunis, all ransomed at the same time by the Procurator General of the Discalced Trinitarians; and within little more than a century before that year, 2000 was the total number redeemed from slavery by their means. The Regular Canons of Prémontré (*Premonstratenses*) founded by St. Norbert, who became Archbishop of Magdeburg, in the XII century, and taking that name from the meadow, in a wild solitude, chosen as site of their first foundation,

were noted for munificent hospitalities; once possessing 1000 Abbeys of male and 500 of female religious, great were their charities, and at their central sanctuary of Prémontré, in France, during one year of famine were daily supplied with food 500 poor, which number St. Norbert afterwards increased by 120 to be additionally succoured. — Several persons of high rank, Counts of Brienne, Namur, Arnestein ec, were contented to remain as simple lay brothers in this once actively useful Order; but when Thibaut, Count of Champagne, desired to enter it, St. Norbert dissuaded him, urging that his duty was to serve God in the world and in the married state. Such the merits of the Regular Canons towards the Church and society; but *demerits* were lamented in the case of several individuals, who gained notoriety, in the early years of Protestant movement, by quitting their Order to follow the condemned doctrines, which some (enumerated by Tiraboschi) defended, not without applause among co-religionists, by their pens.

In 1442 the Regular Canons since called « of the Lateran, » were desired by Eugenius IV to take up their residence at that Basilica for serving its altars, instead of the seculars hitherto in that office; but strange the vicissitudes suffered before they were left to quiet possession in those old buildings, now deserted, that rise around the beautiful cloisters, of the XIII century, still the admiration of tourists, and almost the only residue of its earlier architecture at that Cathedral of the Popes. The secular Canons, enraged at what they considered encroachment on their domain, gathered, by bribes or other means, a troop of peasants to assist them in making good *vi et armis* the claims that set at nought the authority of the Church's head: taking the opportunity soon offered by a festival (the Corpus Domini), they thus forced their way into the refectory just as the Regulars were saying grace after dinner, and with the aid of those

respectable adherents, seized, maltreated, insulted all within reach, and finally expelled the whole community, 35 fathers, who were glad to escape any way, some through doors, some through windows, as they best could contrive after which all the forniture was given up, as probably stipulated beforehand, to that mob of adherents. The Pope, then absent at Siena, returned to Rome expressely for putting a stop to these scandalous disorders, and invited the General Chapter of Regular Canons, now convened, to send 30 others of their Order to the Lateran, on which the Canons Secular adopted the new expedient of stirring up the public mind by reports of an intention to alienate altogether from the Roman people that famed Sanctuary, the peculiarly national temple, where Pontiffs were consecrated and buried, where the most precious remains of antiquity had long been deposited (as the bronze Wolf, the statue of Marcus Aurelius), the « second Zion » the *Aula Dei*, *Regia Dei* — all distinctions by which the Lateran reccomended itself to Roman regards. To meet this new opposition, or rather avert the tempest threatened, was tried the efficacy of an Apostolic Visitation to the disputed Basilica; but prudential motives were at last allowed to preponderate, leading to decision in favour of the secular Canons, and a bull assigned definitively the Cathedral Basilica to them. One attempt was afterwards made to reconcile conflicting claims by the energetic Nicholas V, who placed the Regulars to reside in common with the other Canons under this roof; but the house divided against itself could not stand; and Calixtus III, perceiving this, again separated them. Under Paul II was indeed effected the justice certainly due to the claimants postponed by Calixtus; and the Regulars now returned to take possession, entering the Lateran in solemn procession as sole recognised guardians of its holy place, where for seven years they were left undisturbed, but at the end of that period again ejected, and

again by open violence, betraying how lawless the state of society and feeble the police of Rome in these latter years of the XV century. Besieging the canonical residence with an armed multitude, the secular Canons forced their entrance to pillage and destroy archives, furniture ec, and no doubt many an unwashed artificer was rewarded by ample share in the booty after the Regulars had been thus driven away. Those sufferers appealed to the then reiging Sixtus IV, for protection and restitution; but that Pontiff, however well disposed, seems to have feared rendering justice, mindful of what he had recently suffered himself at the hands of this populace when, on his way to the Lateran for the solemn installation, a scuffle arising between some spectators and the guards in the procession attending the Pontiff for that august rite to invest him with his highest attributes, stones had been thrown at the very person of their spiritual and temporal sovereign by these formidable Romans! By way of indemnification, however, Sixtus extended privileges to the Regulars, with a new title thenceforth designating them as « Lateran Canons of St. Saviour,» and conferred on them the church and convent of *S. Maria della Pace*, recently built by himself in commemoration of the peace established between the long belligerent powers of Europe. Since then these Regular Canons have no more attempted the dangerous ground of the Lateran; and their Order has continued to fill a position rather respectable than prominent in Rome, neither the most noted for influence or activity, nor, amid the storms of modern revolution, exposed to any blasts particularly directed against them — their armorial device a mitre and crozier, with figures of the Virgin and Child, St. John and St. Augustine, a head of the Saviour above and a black eagle below — their costume white, with a black mantle when abroad, no monastic cowl, and a surplice or rochet over the cassock, whence the name familiar-

given them here, *Rochettini*. In 1828 two of their congregations were united to form a community in the spacious and handsome cloisters on the Esquiline Hill, beside the Eudossian Basilica, or *S. Pietro in Vincoli*, a church altogether modernised, and after a restoration by Julius II., reduced to its present form by the architect Francesco Fontana, in 1705, yet, notwithstanding the degraded character of art at this last period, retaining a certain grandeur and harmony of effect, superior to most Roman churches that have passed under similar processes. Various are the associations that attach to this building; the legends and usages, and events of the Past have added sacredness to its walls; and History owns how great the import of one transaction accomplished here, the election to the Pontificate, on the 22nd April 1072, of that Hildebrand who became Gregory VII. The best period of Italian Art has also its representation here — by Buonarotti, Guido, Guercino: Guido's « Hope, » one of his most exquisite compositions, expresses more in its upturned gaze than even that principle of Christian life, uniting what conveys, the idea of Hope amidst sorrow, looking through tears to the heavenly home; and Guercino's « St. Margaret », with her chained Dragon, is an expressive treatment of that deeply meaning legend, or allegory of the triumph of Faith and Holiness over darkness and evil —

St. George, whose flaming brand
The Dragon quelled; and valiant Margaret,
Whose rival sword a like opponeat slew,

being, in fact, like St. Sylvester, St. Donatus (patron of Arezzo), and other beatified champions of fabled combat, similar expressions of one idea — the victory of the Christian over the Pagan principle. But the great artistic marvel of this church is that superb monument to Julius II, itself but a fragment of Buonarotti's intended erection, left incomplete owing to the

death of the ambitious Pontiff. A noble sonnet by Za[illegible] (compared with which Alfieri's on the same theme is utterly frigid) observes the light reflected from Divine glory in the countenance of the sculptor's Moses —

Quando scendea dal monte
E gran parte del Nume avea nel volto;

but others see only the expression of haughty defiance and indomitable strength of will. Undazzled by the glare of celebrity, we may ask, can it be regretted that such a composition was *not* raised immediately under the cupola of St. Peter's, to occupy the place usually assigned to the Holy of Holeis in the vastest temple of Christendom? and is not the very idea of such a location proof of dereliction from every principle aesthetically just or spiritually elevated in the forms of Art proper to the Sanctuary? The original design for this work, very different from the description given by Vasari, is engraved in Bottari's edition of that writer's « Lives, » showing, among several sculptures never executed, the figure of Victory with a prostrate foe and four male figures, nude and chrined, to signify the Arts and Sciences enslaved in consequence of Pope Julius's decease — a bad compliment to his successor! Rome preserves also another monument of this extraordinary Pontiff-no mausoleum, but simply a miniature picture, yet not less illustrative of his reign and character than the imposing sculptures of Michel Angiolo, whilst suggesting profound regrets for that dereliction from the sense of the Papacy's true vocation, which prepared the way for its disasters in the time of the Medici, and has since so unfortunately resulted in loss of estem and affection among its temporal subjects. This picture represents the triumph of the Pontiff over the subjection of Bologna (a city not proved so easy to retain) he is seated, crowned and robed, on a stage drawn by four horses with a cherub for charioteer, a Cardinal and another Vatican-courtier standing behind the throne; nothing else of

sacerdotal or religiously symbolic appears, but, accompanying the triumphal car, march armed warriors, with spears and swords, bucklers and banners, among whom are led miserable captives, their hands tied behind their backs; whilst above, quite subordinate and insignificant, is a little figure looking through the clouds, that might pass for Apollo, though intended for the Redeemer of the World, contemplating *such* a triumph as appropriate to His Vicar on earth! and the epigraph, *Hierusalem miserere tui*, certainly seems less suitable than a quotation from Ovids Metamorphoses to this maskerade, in which probably St. Gregory or St. Leo would have deemed it the deadliest insult to see the sanctity of their office profaned. (Illustration to Latin MS. Poems in honour of Julius and his nephew, at the Vatican Library, engraved in Agincourt's work) (1)

(1) Valuable notices of the relations between the Holy See and England are at hand, for the historian's use, from many authorities. But there is one episode, supplied by the life of this Pope, which, instead of being gravely suited to a grave subject, seems irresistibly comic. Julius II, being desirous to induce Henry VIII to join the confederacy against Lonis XII, had the sagacity to care first for conciliating the Parliament, that supplies might not be refused for that war to the king. Consequently a vessel was freighted by his orders for England, with abundance of the best Italian wines, smoked hams and other such delicacies, which, as soon as Parliament opened, were lavishly distributed among honourable members by his Holiness's agents. The bait answered so well, that the name of Julius was lauded to the skies: and, we are assured, more thus effected than if immense treasures had been dispensed, the Italian historian who narrates this adding « I know not whether this affords more illustration of the bacchanalian genius of the Pope, or of the rude simplicity of the English at that period »

Denina, « Rivoluzioni, » lib. 20, c 2.

In one aisle of this church a relief, rudely executed and dated 1465, represents St. Peter enthroned giving his chains to an Angel, who *kneels* (emphatic testimony to his supremacy!) before the Apostle. Those chains, left in the Mamertine Prisons after St. Peter's confinement there, are said to have been found by the Martyr St. Balbina, in the year 126, and by her given to Theodora, another sainted matron, sister to Hermes, Prefect of Rome, through whom they passed into the hands of St. Alexander, first Pope of that name, and in a church erected by Theodora, were finally deposited by him where the relics have ever since remained. Such the legendary, but the *historic* origin of this Basilica cannot be traced higher than about the middle of the V century, subsequently to the year 439, when Juvenal, Bishop of Jerusalem, presented to the Empress Eudoxia, wife of Theodosius the Younger, two chains believed those of St. Peter, one of which was placed by her in the Basilica of the Apostles at Constantinople, and the other sent to Rome for her daughter Eudoxia, wife of Valentinian III, who caused to be erected this temple (hence called « Eudossion ») expressely as the shrine of St. Peter's chains. Proofs of genuineness were soon supplied by miracle, as narrated in the office for ths 1st August: these relics from Jerusalem, when confronted with the *other* links by which the Apostle was bound, in his captivity under Nero, in the sight of Sixtus III (or, according to some, Leo I.) instantly attached themselves to the former, so that the two chains become for ever riveted into one! Whatever the evidence for this story, certain it is that, since the VI century, when they were seen and described, these united chains, one of 22, the other of 11 links, 4 only of different size from the rest, have remained here unremoved, except for devotional purposes, as when they are exhibited to be kissed by worshippers kneeling at the altar, every day from the 1st to the 8th October, on

which last, carried in solemn procession round the church, they are taken back to be enshrined in their splendid reliquary.

This relic and instrument of the Apostle's sufferings became the token of his supremacy, as venerated and applied by the Church in Rome. It soon passed among the symbolism, adopted by the Holy See in her anxiety to lavish both proofs of her regard and memorials of her sacred claims, for the well-deserving among her protectors or champions, to distribute links ar filings from the chains of St. Peter, among the tokens of benignity to Princes, dignitaries of the Church, or celebrated sanctuaries, though the earlier practise of giving away whole links, by which these relics were much curtailed, naturally gave place, after a time, to that of bestowing what could be more easily spared, the filings alone, either set in crosses of gold or silver, which some persons thus favoured used to wear round the neck, as stimulant to devotion or talisman against evil; or enclosed within golden keys subsequently to be left for a time on the tomb of the Apostle, thus to acquire higher consecration. Such are mentioned as having been the instrument for working miracles, by St. Gregory of Tours. The Golden Key, thus hallowed by its contents, was sent by Gregory the Great to the Kings of France and Spain; by Gregory III to Charles Martel; by Leo III to Charlemagne; by Gregory VII to Alfonso of Castile; and in one sole instance to an English sovereign, the Queen of Oswy, King of Northumberland, who received that donation, in the VII century, from Pope Vitalianus. The latest instance (that I can ascertain) was when Benedict XIV sent the Golden Key to his native city, Bologna; and the relic has since remained, without subtraction from its material, in the beautifully chiselled silver shrine, with a front of bronze open-work, wrought by the two Pollajuolo brothers, the keys to its three doors being kept by

the Major Domo of the Pope, the Cardinal Titular of this church, and the Prior of the Monastery attached to it.

Legends of the supernatural, invested with terror, attach, besides those connected with the relics revered for ages, to the Eudossian Basilica. In the year 680, Rome was visited by desolating pestilence, which raged unabated for three months, after eclipses of the sun and moon had heralded the calamity. Then (according to the narrative of Paulus Deaconus) was seen one of those appalling apparitions belief in which has often taken possession of the popular mind during similar afflictions. At dead of night were beheld, passing through the streets and stopping from door to door, two Angels, one of good, the other of evil, and at the behest of the former, the latter struck with a spear the door of each house to be visited next day by the plague, the number of blows always corresponding to that of the doomed victims. After the whole Summer had passed in mourning and terror, whilst entire families used daily to be taken to the cemetary on the same bier, a certain pious citizen had a dream intimating to that if the body of St. Sebastian were brought into the town from the Catacombs, and an altar erected to him in this church, the pestilence should cease. This was communicated to the Pope, Agathon, who immediately ordered the transfer of those relics, and the erection of an altar dedicated to that Soldier Martyr, as *Depulsor Pestilitatis*, which act of piety was no sooner accomplished than the destroying Angel departed, — the plague instantly ceased! In narrating these events, Baronius satisfies himself with simply quoting the words of Paul the Deacon, and referring to Anastasius; but the great Historian of the Church observes the remarkable fact that hence, in the circumstances of that plague-visitation and its disappearance, has originated a new form of Christian devotions, in the ideas and practises referred to the Martyr Sebastian, whose worship, dating from

this period, began to extend over Italy, particularly in time of contagious disease, with the introduction of his image, the erecting of altars, or even churches to him. And thus is the history of a religious idea connected, among other associations, with the church we are considering — one of those ideas, the exaggeration of which on one side, the misapprehension on the other, have unfortunately sown discords among Christian nations. A finished and spirited fresco, ascribed to Antonio Pollajuolo, close to one entrance of this church, represents the above story in its several acts, with the Consistory in the background, where the citizen narrates his dream to the Pope and Cardinals seated in a kind of portico, and a funeral, that Pontiff officiating, in the foreground; but we observe that in the artist's group of the two Angels, *not* the character simply indicated by the historian as « malus Angelus, » but the medieval notion of the horned Demon, in horrific hideousness, is that embodied. The deacon's narrative is conveyed, in substance, in the old inscription still preserved on one side the altar of St. Sebastian, (1) over which is the mosaic of the VII century, one of the most curious specimens preserved from early ages of this Art. Totally unlike the ideal of the Martyr as a beautiful heroic-looking youth, in suffering but without any distortions of pain, rendered familiar by more modern painting, he is here depicted as an aged warrior, with white hair and beard, in complete armour, over which falls a long white chlamys (this costume belonging to Byzantine antiquity) hold-

(1) His words, which may be compared with this inscription, are the following: « Tunoque visilibiter multis apparuit, quia bonus et malus Angelus noctu per civitatem pergerent, et ex jussu boni Angeil, malus Angelus, qui videbatur venabulum in manu ferre, quotiens venabulo ostium percussissit, tot de eadem domo die sequenti homines interirent. »

ing a jewelled diadem in one hand, and with the name inscribed vertically in gold letters on a blue ground — a work Kugler concludes to have been executed within a short time after the date of the events commemorated by it.

Within the apse a series of modern frescoes, displaying some powers of invention, represent the entire story of the chains of St. Peter, from that Apostle's liberation in prison to the consignment ot the relic by Eudoxia to the Pope; also, by the same artist, the legend of the Crucifix of Beyrout, (mentioned by St. Athanasius) which shed blood on being pierced and maltreated by blaspheming Jews — a story belonging to a class of marvels the acceptance of which the Church has never enforced on Christian belief.

The adjoining Monastery is a restoration, originally by Julius II, and, in recent years, by the Canons who occupy it. Different from many others in Rome, where slovenliness and neglect (certainly very bad signs in an ecclesiastical establishment of any kind) seem hereditary, this has an aspect of refinement and comfort: pleasantly situated, its spacious corridors, and the lofty arcades of the cloister, surrounding a quiet garden where the glossy foliage of the orange and lemon-tree contrast with the white walls and columns of regular architecture, all here presents a certain aspect of dignified and studious retirement. The fathers have a library of 20,000 volumes, and are generally cultivated men, as, in one instance, companionship during a short journey enabled me to judge, finding in a fellow-traveller, from this monastery, one whose conversation at once announced the man of education and intelligence. Though little engaged in the pulpit, and only officiating at two churches (this and *S. Agnese* beyond the walls), their position and character are respected, and in the services rendered to society by education, they make good a title to esteem, since having opened here, in 1828, a *Convitto* for resident pupils considered a-

mong the best colleges of this description in Rome, though neither the discipline of this, nor any similar schools have so succeeded in recommending their system as to reconcile that public feeling now generally prepossessed against the education bestowed by ecclesiastics in this City — a prejudice against clerical schools not to be mistaken, and too evidently increasing under present political circumstances and ecclesiastical policy. In the midst of the handsome cloisters here is a noticeable work by Simone Mosca, pupil of Sangallo, in form of a fountain (or rather cistern) with columns and an architrave bearing the arms of Julius II; and around the walls, within the arcades, are frescoes, of recent date, that may interest, not from intrinsic merits, but for the sake of the spirit and intent in the artist — Pietro Camosci, who adorned this surface with a series of landscapes (partly sketched from scenes near Rome) in act of disinterested gratitude for his recovery from cholera, as recorded by an inscription dated the 9th year of Gregory XVI, expressing pious thanksgivings for that delivery, ascribed to the intercessory protection of St. Sebastian — *Depulsori Pestilitatis.*

The view from the front of this monastery is one of those, peculiar to Rome, where a few distinctive features combine to form what may be called a pictorial physiognomy of expression not to be forgotten. From the secluded grassy platform, on this slope of the Esquiline, we look down on a part of the Forum, with the enormous arcades of Constantine's Basilica; the long ridge of the Janiculan bounds the prospect with its villas and gardens, and beside a high battlemented tower rises distinct, against the horizon-line, a solitary Palm-tree, at once the most graceful and most southern detail in the scene.

The only remarkable church possessed by the Trinitarians in Rome, is *S. Crisogono*, in Trastevere, which, though in its present state modernised, still retains features of the

early Basilica style, massive, and distinguished by gravity. Another held by Discaleed Trinitarians, *S. Carlo* at the Four Fountains, is only noticeable for the degradation of art displayed in its fantastic ugliness, a specimen of Borromino's extravagance in the XVII century; and also for the circumstance that this whole building, church and convent, is said to correspond in proportions to *one* of the four piers supporting the cupula of St. Peter's. To this attach tragic associations of revolutionary story, as here was formed (certainly without connivence of the monks) a point of attack, in the assault against the Quirinal Palace, 16th November '48, that immediately caused the flight of Pius IX and the downfall of his constitutional government. And it was from a window of this Convent, the same evil day, that a shot proved fatal to Monsignor Palma, one of the Pontific Secretaries and an esteemed writer on ecclesiastical history, who had unfortunately exposed himself to danger at a window of the palace opposite.

The changed conditions of Europe and of the relations between Christian and Moslem powers, have deprived the Mercede Order of opportunity for carrying out its vocation so nobly charitable, according to their rule drawn up by Innocent III; and the duty of dedicating one third of their revenue to the redemption of Christian captives, was dispensed from by Gregory XVI; in consideration of their present poverty and altered position towards society. But still is the spirit of their saintly Founder remembered, to be revived when possible, and the followers of St. John de Matha appropriate the residue of means requisite for support of their houses, nowhere wealthy as at one time, to the purchase of Moorish children, who are brought to Europe, to be placed under Christian tuition by care of the communities enabled thus to co-operate for the cause originally marked out as especially their own.

Sylvestrines

Little, save the fact of its continued existence, is to be observed of this Order, also following a modification of the Benedictine Rule, and once widely extended in southern lands, though now scarcely more than a shadow of its own Past, nor distinguished by any peculiar vocation or individualizing features, yet still maintaining itself, as if only to afford proof of the tenacious principle of life in Catholic Institutions, that enables them to survive all the circumstances leading to or accompanying their birth. We read of Religious Orders being legally or violently suppressed; in a few instances, of their authoritative abolition by the Church; but scarcely is there on record such a fact as the disappearance of one by natural death. The romantic history of the Templars (suppressed by Clement V at the Council of Vienne, 1312), closes amid tempests of blood-red gloom, under a weight of dark imputations, and still darker, because more palpable horrors of violence, confiscation, persecution, till the last of those picturesque and stately forms disappears at the burning pile, in a weful accents citing the remorseless King and the Pontiff to appear, by a given day, before the judgment seat on high (1). The *Umiliati* were suppressed by Pius V, in 1571, being then owners of 92 Convents and immense wealth, probably the chief cause of that corruption which had led to incriminations the most serious, and an evil repute with suspicions more than countenanced by their manifest connivance in the attempt against the life of St. Carlo Borromeo

(1) Clement V, and Philip le Bel both died within the year after the burning of Jacques Molay and Guy, Dauphin of Auvergne, the two chiefs of this Order, who suffered on an island of the Seine, 18th March 1314.

sacriligiously perpetrated in his private chapel at Milan. The suppression of the Jesuits (1773) was under circumstances well-known, but apparently a reluctant concession from Clement XIV to the instances pressed upon him by almost all the governments of Europe; and one branch of the Camaldolese Order, called, in distinction from the rest, « Conventuals » had been cut off as a diseased member considered incurable, by decision of Paul V — motives for which may be supposed sufficiently cogent when one reads a document, among the most curious pertaining to Italian Monastic Annals — the *Hodoeporicon*, or description of a tour to inspect the establishments of this Order in the Roman and Tuscan States, by Ambrogio, a native of Romagna, who entered the cloister at the age of 14, distinguished himself at the Council of Florence, and was elected General of the Camaldulese Order in 1431. It was in that year he wrote this memoir on the state of the Institution he was called to govern, not only valuable as a picture of monastic manners, but for many passing notices, literary and social, of Italian life at that day: and verily some of its details, showing what the then disorders of the cloister, might satisfy the requirements of any school of horror in romance: we read o monks abandoned to a life of vagabondage, and some runaways whom the reforming father deems it his duty to place instantly under arrest, or send back in chains to their cloisters, while others are denounced to him for leading the life of military adventurers or (as terms seem to imply) nothing else than robbers; and one female community had become so notorious for evil doings, that, after a visit of inspection and some confessions with difficulty extorted, he threatens, should such rumours still go abroad, to burn down their Convent, never more to be restored! But, together with all these matters of scandal, it is gratifying to find, attested with the same quiet naive frankness, how much piety and

sincere self-dedication to the true objects of the cloistral life existed among the followers of St. Romuald, and how earnestly pursued was the enterprise of reform, for whose abiding effects the Camaldulese Order remained in after ages under obligation to the intelligent zeal of this learned Father (1).

As for the Order called « Sylvestrine, » — its canonized founder, Silvestro Gozzolino, of noble family in the Papal States, was born in the XII century at Osimo, and studied jurisprudence with some success at Bologna, but abandoned the legal career for the priesthood, and was officiating as Canon in his native city, when (as in the case of Saint Francis Xavier at the funeral of Queen Isabella) an impression was made on him by the terrors of death, on beholding the body of a relative considered the handsomest man of his time, that worked a change in the inner nature affecting his whole subsequent conduct, and leading him, as the first step usually taken in the religious life of those ages, to fly from society, seek out a solitude in the wildest region within reach, and there dedicate himself to austerities reviving the system of the Egyptian eremites. After thus spending some time in a cavern among the Apennines, thirty miles distant from Osimo, his food consisting of raw herbs, his bed the bare ground, the usual results were verified: the enthusiast became surrounded by followers, impressed and attracted by his example; and

(1) He was among those sent by the Pope to receive the Greek Emperor and Patriarch on their arrival, to attend the Council, at Venice, in 1438. For his Greek and Latin scholarship he is extolled by many contemporaries; and the curious Memoir above-named, written in Latin, speaks of his translations from Greek Fathers, undertaken at Rome, and dedicated to Eugenius IV. Describing his visit to Grottaferrata, he tells us how he found the books in its library mostly torn and rotten, *ferme putres atque consessos.*

with this campany Silvestro was enabled to found a monastery at Fabriano, in the March of Ancona, A.D. 1231, the new community adopting the rule of St. Benedict, but with increase instead of modification to its olden austerities, as was approved, on the formal recognition of their Order, ten years later, by the Pope. Thirteen monasteries for males and one for females, did the saintly Hermit live to found, before the year 1267, when he expired at the age of 90, and was buried at Fano, miracles being soon reported as wrought at his tomb, to which multitudes of the devont were thus attracted. At its highest prosperity this Order owned 56 establishments for males, besides several for females, all which latter, however, exeept one at Perugia, they ultimately ceased to direct, finding the management of the other sex, even under the some rule, too much either for their patience or experience. Till 1543 they were govèrned by Generals elected for life; but the triennal system was then adopted by the desire of Paul III; and subsequently was effected a species of fusion with the Vallombrosans, under Generals elected alternately, for authority over both these Benedictine families, by the followers of St. Sylvester and of St. John Gualberto; but this union afterwards ceasing, the superior of the Sylvestrines has since been elected by their General Chapter every fourth year. Every two years they hold a general diet for appointing to the subordinate posts of each monastery, and providing for other interests in what concerns the entire Order. Their observance, if with some modifications, is still austere, imposing such duties as the rising a few hours after midnight for office in choir, and the *discipline* (or scourging) to be self-inflicted at least once a week, and much more frequently during Advent and Lent. Their General, resident in Rome, uses the episcopal insignia at the altar, and has authority for conferring minor Orders on his monks; the Abbots of other houses also celebrating pontifically at the three

chief festivals in the year, and these latter retaining office for life, though every fourth year removed to a different monastery, as check against the dangers of unlimited period in the control of the same subjects. The Sylvestrine General appears vested in the prelatic purple; and the cowl and mantle of dark blue distinguish these fathers from among the monastic groups otherwise noted for graver colours in costume. In the Papal States they had, in the last century, 14 monasteries altogether; but are now far less prominent; nor, except at Rome and Perugia, can I remember to have observed their figures as at all conspicuous in any city of these provinces. The antique parochial church of *S. Stefano in Cacco* was assigned to them in Rome, 1568, after they had already been long established here. Without any artistic treasures to attract, and obscurely situated, this church, supposed to derive its rather barbaric sounding name from some family who founded it, was restored by them in 1607, with the nave and aisles and ancient columns still seen here. Its site is that of the famous (or rather infamous) Temple of Serapis, whose worship was introduced into Rome, together with that of Isis, in the late Republican period, and in the circuit of which temple were placed various Egyptian antiquities by Alexander Severus. An arch, formerly between this spot and the Piazza of the Roman College, was called *Cammigliano*, in the vulgar idea of its having been raised to Camillus — but when Petrarch could look on the Pyramid of Cestius as the veritable sepulchre of Romulus, what might not be expected from the antiquarian lore of Rome's populace? In no sense can the Sylvestrines be now ranked among the great influences of the Church, nor, of late years, have they been conspicuous for any talents produced or energies put forth from their cloisters.

Farfa

Favourable circumstances have lately secured promise of restoration for one of the most ancient and celebrated Benedictine sanctuaries, Farfa, hitherto left in the depressed and almost abandoned state to which it had been reduced by the measures against establishments of the Regular Clergy in the Roman provinces, all its property being then sold, and only four monks usually resident here since, in place of the once vast community, for the service of its church, now but a remnant of buildings raised in the latter years of the XI. century. The story of Farfa, filling a large section in one of Muratori's folios, is among the most interesting monastic records, and illustrative of the rapid growth of these institutions in splendour and ascendancy; nor can we read it without perceiving their wonderful adaptation to Christian society of old, the imposing nature of their influences, their fascination in offering retreats to piety and learning, a haven to sorrow, an asylum to suffering and sensitive weakness. In the Sabine district within the Duchy of Spoleto, sheltered by the mountains round a beautiful valley taking its name from the stream Farfarus, was this monastery founded, about the middle of the VI. century, by a Syrian Hermit named Laurence, who had travelled to Rome with his sister, Susanna, and renounced a bishopric in order to dedicate himself unreservedly to the life of contemplative solitude. A spot picturesquely marked by three cypresses was chosen for the primitive chapel and cells, where presently devout followers assembled to place themselves under the direction of the holy man; and, before long, a terrible Dragon, which had devastated and by its poisonous breath spread pestilence round that region, was for ever driven away by the prayers of St. Laurence! The development and magnificence soon

attained by Farfa, seem (like the above episode) to belong to sacred romance rather than history. Before the end of the VI century rose here, besides the principal church, five others, all styled Basilicas, one for the Canons, one for the infirm, one for those « near to death, (probably the very aged) with suitable lodgings and baths contiguous; one for females (who could never enter the monastic inclosure), and one in a royal residence reserved expressly for Emperors who might be guests, this whole pile of building being surruounded by fortified walls and towers, like a strong city. But, in the year 568, an invasion of Lombards swept away all this grandeur, depopulated the country, and left the monastery, it seems, a pile of deserted ruin, from this period remaining no notice of its existence or of any habitation on the spot, till a restoration was commenced about the year 680, by a French pilgrim-priest named Thomas, whose story is, alike with that of the original Founder, characteristic of the age's faith and enthusiasm. On a pilgrimage at Jerusalem, he had been favoured, whilst fervently praying at the Holy Sepulchre, with a vision of the Blessed Virgin, who commanded him to return to Italy, and restore the sanctuary dedicated to her on this spot. Obeying that mandate, he travelled till he reached the valley of Farfa, and had not long to wait amidst the ruins (probably all that marked the site) before the Duke of Spoleto, also warned by the Virgin in a vision, came to find him here, and offer whatever lands might be desired for his purpose. Through this Prince's bounty the restored monastery was soon possessed of considerable property, confirmed, with the usual privileges, from Rome. It owned, as central establishment of a vast family, 683 churches and monasteries in different Italian provinces, 131 fortified places (*castella*), 16 towns (*oppida*), 315 villages, 14 villas, 82 mills, 8 salt-works, innumerable farms, and the entire cities of Alatri and Civitavecchia, besides seven

other sea-ports. A chronicler gives the number inhabiting these cloistors towards the end of the XI century, as 683, servants and all ranks included; and the list of vassals, in different districts, occupies nearly eleven columns in folio! This great establishment was not always exempt from the decline and corruption that have proved almost inevitable phases in the annals of the cloister, showing how self-renunciation, moral superiority, edifiying example, led first to power and riches, these, in fatal consistency, to laxity and degeneration. In the X century many monks lived and dressed like laics, fast-days were no longer observed in the refectory, and an Abbot obtained his office simoniacally for money paid to the Antipope John XVII; but that same Abbot, from Cluny, commenced it seems with sincere earnestness, in 998, the labour of reform, introducing the rigorous discipline of his French monastery long so celebrated. In the same century the school of medicine here had already risen into note; and atrocious advantage was taken of the proficiency acquired under monastic teachers in this science by one adventurer, who poisoned the then governing Abbot, contrived to intrude himself into that office, and dissipated the revenues of the monastery by his selfish wastefulness (v. Tiraboschi). The contrasts of light and shade, like the « mingled yarn » to which Shakspeare compares human life, gather round the picture of the medieval monastery with singular vividness and relief. Now the monks are bowed down to as superior beings, loaded with donations and offerings, now insulted, outraged, despoiled. We read of a Duke of Spoleto falling prostrate before them, placing his lands and goods at the disposal of the Farfa brethren; again, of feudal lords or retainers violently seizing their property, driving away their cattle, attacking their persons, to trample upon, scourge or barbarously mutilate some hapless traveller caught on his way to or from the cloister; and one such scene becomes dramatic when the peaceful vic-

tim offers, but in vain, to say Masses for the souls of all his tormentors' relatives, on condition of being spared. At one period Farfa was besieged and taken, but not till after gallant defense long sustained on the part of its inmates, by roving Saracens, who converted it into a fortress, and occupied it for some time as their stronghold, till a band of Italian brigands, who had sheltered themselves here during their absence on a foray, being suddenly seared away, left a fire which consumed the whole-but soon to rise again from its ashes, apparently with undiminished splendour. Again, during the Avignon Pontificates, did Farfa lose credit both in spiritual and temporal interests; and in 1349 we find its government assigned to an Administrator, also a monk from Cluny, instead of a regularly appointed Abbot. But, with the interruption of only a few years, the list of Abbots elected for life continues unbroken from St. Thomas, the restorer, A. D. 680, to Nicholas II, in 1388, after whose death this Abbacy was given *in commendam* by Boniface IX to his nephew Tomacelli, and German Benedictines were settled here instead of the Italians, the former, however, ultimately to yield place to the Italian Cassinesi, called hither in 1567 by Pius V. In 1683 was held in these cloisters a general synod of the Benedictine Abbots of Farfa and S. Salvatore (another congregation of the Order), presided by Cardinal Barbarini, Abbot Commendator, the constitutions drawn up by which assembly were published, the next year, in Rome. Under the 37th regular Abbot (between 1047-89) the monk Gregory wrote the chronicle given by Muratori (*Script. Rer. Ital.* tom. II, part. 11.); but the annals of this monastery were continued, unbroken, by various pens, from about A. D. 680 till about 1104. Recently has been recovered by the Benedictines of Rome, after long litigation, a property amounting to 60,000 scudi, which has facilitated the proposed restoration of Farfa. A small nucleus to a future gathering more numerous, in

a revived community, has been settled here whilst repairs and enlargements are being projected or actually progressing. And for the high altar of the long almost desolate church, a group of Benedictine Saints, with this monastery in the background, has been painted with taste and feeling by an artist who excels in sacred themes, Platner, son of the distinguished archæologist and writer, once minister of Saxony at Rome. Artistic wealth we do not read of among the ancient distinctions of Farfa, to any degree approaching that of Monte Cassino or La Cava; but the chronicler speaks of its massive constructions, precious vessels and vestments for the altar, among these last a set for Requiem High Mass embroidered with groups (of whose details we are left in tantalizing ignorance) so wonderful that none could behold them without, for days afterwards, having his mind filled by the thoughts of Death and Judgment!

The great change in the circumstances of Monastic Orders must be considered before we contrast their present agency with the energies and beneficence anciently distinguishing them. All being renewed, in the condition of society, intelligence, interests, moral and material progress around, whilst the silent cloister remains governed by the same laws, if not animated by exactly the same spirit, as it was six hundred years ago, it is a natural result that these Institutions should bear a certain character of the *monumental*, belonging to the genius of other ages rather than the present; and, at a general view, it must be owned that the Italian monastery embodies a system now in the phase of decline — a decline hastened, on one hand, by political tendencies, by new ideas and altered feelings between the Regular Clergy and the people. The measure adopted by the

Piedmontes Legislation for abolishing all the Religious Orders except those especially dedicated to defined offices of charity or educational labours — and that regardless of all remonstrances from Rome, — was a step not only proving the temper of that Government in a country that still remains Catholic as before, and exempted from shocks of democratic revolution, but deeply significant as expressive of dispositions prevailing (though by no means universally shared) throughout Italy, unfavourable towards the principle of religious seclusion, of perpetual vows, and cloistral mendicancy. What the Regular Clerics have recently suffered in Rome, displayed the extreme consequences of this alienation in popular feeling. First to be sacrificed to the political storms of 48, were the Jesuits, whose expulsion was more remarkable inasmuch as by the advice of the Pontiff himself, in avowed inability to protect them, was that powerful and wealthy Order obliged to quit the Catholic Metropolis, vacating five establishments at a few hours' notice. Nor had many months passed from that day before the monastic habit entirely disappeared from the Roman streets, disguise being assumed in its stead, though, while the endowed and once most influential Orders had all to succomb to the tempest either by concealment or flight, the unpretending and poorly supported Capuchin, to whom neither political partisanship nor intrigue have ever been imputed, almost alone, among inmates of the cloister, was enabled without danger to show himself in his coarse cowled habit abroad, respected, or at least spared, on account of his poverty, considered the friend of the people because on a level with their rude simplicity of life — an instructive lesson, showing (what is universally the case) that, in the Papal States, where the Clergy present themselves to the people as in no manner connected with government, nor standing within the confines of political interests, *there* will they be esteemed and may command confidence.

The wealth of the Monastic Orders in Italy, prior to the general suppression, was considerable, though perhaps rather within than beyond the extent assumed on vague report. Among the Benedictines, the Cassinese Congregation, always ranking first, possessed, up to 1808, thirty-nine establishments, in Italy and Sicily, with a capital which had been estimated, as for as subject to taxation by the Apostolic Camera of Rome, at 573, 344 crowns, burdened with dues to that Camera in the amount of 9,318 scudi, as reduced from the original tax of 28,667 scudi by the generosity of Benedict XIV. The Benedictines of Arezzo (to take one community, not of the wealthiest, for example) owned twenty-nine farms, with a capital estimated altogether, in land, buildings, crops ec, at 957,010 lire. The Camaldoli Sanctuary then possessed 130 farms and houses, the value of a single estate among which was reported as 26,605 lire, besides 29 vineyards, some yielding wines annually to the amount of between 2000 and 3000 lire in value. In the Vallombrosan archives, the revenue required for one Abbey of that Order (Astino) is stated as 10,070 crowns (or scudi) per annum, out of which 200 went to the support of the Father General, and 500 for the maintenance of studies pursued there by the monks. Both at Camaldoli and in some Benedictine Abbies; if not in all, the postulant was received to religious profession without charge or pecuniary conditions whatever; and the commissioners for the enquiry before the suppression in 1808, found that the fourteen inmates then in the Benedictine cloisters at Arezzo, so far from having had to defray expenses, were in fact enjoying each a separate provision from the monastic funds calculated at 140 crowns for the monks, 70 for the lay-brothers. Five Nunneries, in that city, were then in common enjoyment of a bequest, made in 1721 by a benevolent citizen, of 10,000 crowns, with obligation of receiving to the religious profession without dowry, at each of those houses

every five years, some young lady of noble family who might desire to take the veil under those advantages. At some Benedictine Nunneries 30 ducats was required from the novice for support during the year of probation; and only 214 ducats, with sundry perquisites amounting to about 70 more, for her dowry an taking the final vows; but the archives of one such establishment show that, up to the year 1600, the Nun might be received with a dowry varying between 125 and 500 florins (the amount then determined), for her entire provision in the future, Whilst wealth was greater than at present, charities were worthily proportioned to the means at command; nor did the most beautiful feature of the ancient monastic system cease to win popularity for the Italian cloisters in the last century. Still was there the daily distribution of alms, in money and food — all left from the meals of the refectory — at the gates; as, at Arezzo, the Benedictines thus dispensed bread, every week, to more than 1000 poor, besides other descriptions of relief, to those less dependant, such as loans of grain till the harvest-time brought supplies for the support of labouring families, who might have been reduced to destitution but for that timely aid. The Franciscans of Alvernia gave (as they still do) entertainment for three days without charge to all visitors; and whilst the parish priests of the vicinity might call for their spiritual assistance, supplied charities to an extent the more praiseworthy in a mendicant Order, in the way of medicines and food to all the indigent sick, whom their *speziale* (or druggist) would visit at distances of many miles from that mountain sanctuary, wherever his services were desired. The Dominicans had made themselves so useful by their attendance at the hospital of Bibbiena, and general care for the sick in that neighbourhood, that the clergy of ten parishes petitioned the Grand Duke against the suppression of their Convent, *S. Maria del Sasso*, in 1808.

Till that epoch so fatal to the interests of the Regulars in Italy, the libraries of the ancient cloisters had remained intact; but I do not find, in their archives now conveniently accessible (in the Archivio of Florence, now a perfect model for arrangement, and where the student finds every facility afforded in the most obliging manner) notice of any very valuable collections save those sufficiently celebrated, and a few others in Tuscany perhaps scarcely known beyond the Orders, or even cloisters, possessing them. The Badia of the Benedictines at Florence contained parchments, arranged alphebetically, extending the records of that establishment over nine centuries. Another Benedictine « Archivio, » at the Arezzo Abbey, where was also a valuable library, preserved the registers of monastic administration from the year 999 to 1807. But most precious were the Camaldulese Archives, at the Tuscan Abbey of *SS. Donato e Ilarino* (suppressed 1808), containing an immense number of documents, charts donations, the earliest in date being a grant from the Emperor Otho I, among which many pertained in Camaldulese « Eremi » in other parts, indeed throughout Italy, besides those in Tuscany, all being classified and distributed most carefully in decades of years, through the industry of a learned Camaldulese Father, a native of Avignon, who had dedicated 40 years to these quiet unrewarded labours, the fruit of which was not only this classification of codes, but three large volumes compiled in MS, one filled by a catalogue, the others by a compendious abstract, illustrated with translated citations, of the entire body of these documents, thus presented at a general view to appreciation. The Commissioners, reporting on this well-ordered collection, state that « it serves to confirm the titles of ancient proprietorship, forms an indubitable monument to a province of the history of Italy, to that of imperial families at various epochs, and to the most remarkable facts in the *fasti* of this country. »

When, in the Kingdom of Italy, constituted under Napoleon I, the lands of the monasteries were for the greater part sold, the totality of their value was estimated as 400 million francs; (1) and the purchase money thus obtained was chiefly devoted to the liquidation of the national debt, whilst two millions went towards the completion of the Cathedral of Milan. In the Neapolitan Kingdom, under Murat, was mainly effected the extrication from financial embarrassments by means of the property of endowed Religious Orders, all which were suppressed, except the three sanctuaries of Monte Cassino, Trinità di Cava, and Monte Vergine, though even in those were left, instead of their full communities, only a few monks pensioned to take charge of their libraries; but the Mendicant Orders and Nunneries were still allowed to subsist under that government. In the Roman States, under French sway, the lands and funds of the monasteries were entirely confiscated, and the greater part alienated irrevocably. The Holy See made demands to the European Powers for the re-establishing of all the Regular Clergy with full restitution of their property; but even the Emperor Francis and Ferdinand of Naples confirmed the alienation of ecclesiastical possessions, so that, in their States, the endowment of

(1) The annual revenues of 645 monasteries, priories, hospices ec, suppressed in England by Henry VIII, were estimated at L. 135,453, 14. 2; but 40 of these had been abolished by full sanction of the Holy See, on the petition of Wolsey to Clement VII. Of 376, the revenues did not exceed 200 pounds per annum. Westmenster enjoyed L. 3,471; Glastonbury, L. 3,311; St. Alban's, L. 2,102 annual income; and these were among the richest English monasteries (Dugdale, v. 1.) A remonstrance from Brinklow, a London merchant, presented to Parliament some years ofter the suppression, represents that, « now, where 20 pounds was given yearly to the poore, in more than an hundred places in Ingland, is not one meales meate given. »

restored monasteries had to be defrayed either from lands yet unsold, or out of the public treasury. The same principle was acted upon in Piedmont, Tuscany, Parma, Modena, Lucca; and even the Roman government, under the administration of Consalvi, was obliged partly to follow this example, so that neither in these States have monastic establishments been restored to their full possessions or their conditions prior to the great revolutionary movements. (Spalding, « Italy and the Italian Islands, » v. III, chapt. VI, VII.).

What constitutes the highest title to respect for Religious Orders at the present day, their services in the Missionary cause, can scarcely be over-estimated; and the Propaganda follows a general method, in sending forth these armies of the Gospel from the central College at Rome, assigning, though not exclusively, a territorial division to their respective ranks — to the Franciscans and Augustinians, South America and the farther Asiatic regions; to the Carmelites, Palestine (though all Latin Convents there belong to Franciscans); to the Capuchins, Africa and western Asia; to the Lazarists, North Ameriea; to the Oratorians, Ceylon. That wonderful Institution maintains her system, thus served by dauntless labourers ever at hand in the cloister, for the conversion of the Heathen world, supported by the comparatively trifling revenue of 360,000 francs, though other Missionary Societies contribute succours, without which the means of Rome would be quite insufficient, as the Seminary of Foriegn Missions at Paris, the Leopoldine Society in Austria, and that » for the Propagation of the Faith » instituted at Lyons in 1822.

In regard to the origin of monachism, it may be added that, in the opinion of Mabillon, not St. Antony, but St. Pachomius (in the same century) was properly the Founder, who indeed carried out to its perfection that cénobite life, succeeding worthily to the eremite, among the primitive

Christians of Egypt. At Tabenna, amidst those deserts, he directed about 7000 monks under obedience to him as their Patriarch, divided into tribes, each consisting of three or four monasteries, which themselves comprised several houses, even to 30 or 40, each with 40 inmates. Their life was studious, self-denying, laborious: in every house thrice a week were theological Conferences, and lessons for the uninstructed; each had its library; and in a separate church were given weekly instructions, founded on the Scriptures, read and explained to peasants of the vicinity. The labours of these monks provided means of subsistence for the unfruitful districts around, and even for the poor at Alexandria. In the cloisters among the mountains of Nitria, « the travellers (says Neander) who, after a weary pilgrimage, arrived here from the wilderness, were suddenly surprised by the sight of a large body of men at labour amidst prayer, and spiritual songs, among whom they found a brotherly hospitable reception; they were refreshed in body and soul » — so far from the state of indolent seclusion or sanctified mendicancy was the primitive monachism! Contrary to the statement of Baronius that this institution first appeared in the West when introduced at Rome, A. D. 340, by St. Athanasius, Muratori shows, on the evidence of unquestionable documents (*Antiq. Ital. Diss.* LXV), that it was first introduced at Milan in 356, and by St. Gregory of Tours, who that year founded a monastery near the capital of northern Italy, as attested by his biographer Sulpicius Severus, and also in the poetic memoir of him by Paulinus. Nor is there clear proof of the appearance of monachism in Europe at any earlier date, though it rapidly extended, at Rome, Ravenna, Nola ec, throughout Italy and Sicily, in the IV and V centuries; during the VI was augmented by the foundations of the retired Senator Cassiodorus, in Calabria Ultra; and in the Papal City, by the end of the X century, were 60 monasteries, 40 for

males, 20 for females. Another statement of Muratori also opposes the view of some writers, that children offered to the monastery for education were, in later years, at liberty to choose their mode of life, the contrary being inferred by this Historian — that the so-called « Oblates, » who were offered in the monastic church with a prescribed ceremony, the parent wrapping the hand of the boy, together with a petition, in the altar-cloth, never could, when of mature years, quit that regular life or marry. This usage and the rite were more ancient than the time of St. Benedict, who adopted the principle and its practise. Another dedication to the cloister under peculiar but passing influences, Muratori also shows to have been irrevocable: when, as frequently occurred, the dying or dangerously sick assumed the cowled habit, desiring to descend into the grave as member of some Religious Order, (however in contradiction with his past life) that pledge, in case of his surviving, could not be recalled. To this, and the former-named usage, may be ascribed a share in producing the elements that so soon led to decline in monastic institutions, and induced corruptions lamented, even in the time of Louis the Pious, by Paschasius Radbertus, Abbot of Corbey: *pene nulla est secularis actio quam non Sacerdotes Christi administrent — nulla rerum improbitas qua se Monasticus Ordo non implicet.* After the third century appeared one of those forms of piety, evincing what morbid interpretation could be applied to the precepts of Christianity, in the *Inclusi*, who, as utterly separated from social duties as the Oriental Stylites, shut themselves up in narrow cells they never quitted, a mode of life disapproved by St. Isidore and others, though the people entertained great reverence for these fanaties, who continued to appear even till the XV century, as in the instance of a female recluse, whose story became one of scandal, preserved in the poem of Antonio Astesano, published by Muratori, *Rerum*

Ital. Script, t. XIV. The Nuns of Rome, still very numerous, who have almost the entire charge of female education, and still more self-sacrificing duties in attendance at hospitals, or on the sick elsewhere, have, in late years of political trouble, suffered alarms, but not actual injury. Few are so generally respected, none more useful in their calling of tuition, for rich and poor, than the French community of the *Sacré Coeur*, whose convent with vast gardens on the Pincian, is esteemed the best school for young ladies *en pension*. Though in much terror during the siege of 1849, those Nuns had no wrong to complain of at that crisis, when the parties in power, however little attached by conviction or principle to the Church, still understood too well their exceptional position and the public mind, to venture on open outrage against what was revered or sacred by religious titles. Another small band of sisters were indeed obliged to leave the immense convent of which they occupied but a section, *S. Silvestro in Capite*, that the locality might be used (as it has continued to be by French troops) for military purposes; but the transfer, though said to have been rudely effected, lodged those ejected inmates with safety in other cloisters. A late publication at Milan, « La Signora di Monza, » by Count Tullio Dandolo, has brought to light all the details, from documents in the archiepiscopal Archives, of the story worked up so powerfully by Manzoni in the *Promessi Sposi*. That fearful picture of a lost life, in consequence of the domestic tyranny that forces a reluctant victim into her cloister, is not exaggerated, from the real facts, by the great Novelist, and gives indeed a glimpse into the abuses possible in an Italian Nunnery of the XVII century, fraught with serious lessons. The punishment of the guilty and wretched (finally indeed repentant) woman, under the discipline of the diocese then governed by the saintly Federigo Borromeo, was reclusion for life, on a regime of asceticism, in another Convent of her

Order. Similar penalties are prescribed, on the bypothesis of similar offence, in the rules drawn up for males and females in the cloister, by the English St. Gilbert, about the end of the XII century. The nun guilty of the most heinous infraction of vows, is anticipatively condemned to perpetual confinement in a cell, where food must be passed through a window, prayer and penance her occupation (*nunquam inde ante mortem exitura*) — but no more cruel sentence; nor is there any evidence that a punishment like that of the Pagan Vestal, or immuration, was contemplated or inflicted at any epoch, however highly developed and irresponsible the system of monastic authority; so that we are constrained to conclude, that the great Poet who worked up so awfully thrilling a scene in the judgment and execution described in *Marmion*, has lent his genius to the support of a fiction alike false and injurious to institutions widely influential, often flourishing for beneficial results, if often stained by abuses, in the Christendom of past ages. (1)

As to the fate of the cloistered religious during the siege of Rome, a celebrated Italian writer on recent history has the following statements: « A decree of the Triumvirate re-

(1) The laws of the northern nations yet scarcely reclaimed from barbarism, condemned the frail nun to be placed in the Gynaceum, or department of female slaves attached to the court, there to gain her bread by spinning or other female labours: but this was abolished, in the Empire at least, by Lothaire I, who decreed that such offenders should be submitted to the judgment of their bishop, after the confiscation of whatever property they possessed (Muratori, Diss LXV.) *Double* mónasteries, for both sexes, where monks and nuns resided on the same premises, though in buildings quite apart, and forbidden to leave their respective quarters, are not known to have ever existed in Italy; but in the East were common till condemned by the second Council of Nice; and also long permitted in England.

leased nuns and friars from religious vows, and invited them to give their assistance for sustaining the defense of the country (*patria*). Perhaps some one, wearied of the monastic life, took this occasion to free himself; some one, through vanity or hope of reward, perhaps accepted the summons to serve in the army. But the greater part deemed this decree a sacrilege. — As the property of the Clergy was to be confiscated to the State, the minimum to be assigned to all was determined, by way of temporary provision — namely, for simple priests, 108 scudi per annum; for titulars of collegiate and cathedral churches, 144; for parochial rectors, 180; for Bishops 1000; for regular priests, provided they remained in their convents, 72 scudi, with prohibition against enjoying farther the profits called of the « black stole » (*stola nera*) — As moreover were now required suitable lodgings for the soldiers engaged to fight and hospitals for the wounded, the authorities appropriated some among the innumerrable convents and monasteries of Rome, obliging nuns and friars to confine themselves within narrower limits, which then, and subsequently gave rise to furious complaints from the hypocritical. — Perhaps the executors of these orders may, in some place, have committed abuse; but there were instances of generosity to be noted. In a certain monastery, the Abbess, showing herself resigned to these public necessities, demanded that a few rooms might be left to herself and her sisterhood, where they might confine themselves, and supply succour for the wounded. They were not only satisfied, but had much greater space left them than they demanded, whilst Garibaldi promised that if one of his soldiers should utter a word in the slightest degree unbecoming, he should be severely punished. Discipline similar was carried into force at the Convent of *S. Pietro in Montorio*, where the friars having complained that certain soldiers without order, had taken down some bells particularly va-

lued, to have them melted for use of the metal, those soldiers were put in chains and, but for the interposition of the same friars, would have been punished with death.»

Ranalli, *Storie Italiane*, lib, 24.

SACRED ART, ARTISTS, AND THE CHURCH

On the 8th September, 1857, the memorial or monument (it is difficult to precisely determine the class to which it belongs) in honour of the « Immaculate Conception, » was inaugurated with solemnity and the blessing of Pius IX. before a multitude of spectators. Though exposed to a thousand criticisms, and made the subject of not a few pasquinades, it must be allowed that this structure forms a grand and impressive whole, and rises with majesty from its not unfavourable, though rather confined, situation, visible through a long line of street; and for those who remember the first announcement of the *idea*, to see thus early accomplished its magnificent embodiment in an enduring work of art and genius, that must rank high among the ornaments of Christian Rome, there is a peculiar interest in contemplating it. The word enounced from the Vatican has indeed brought forth great results, and happily — in *this* instance at least — such as all may appreciate, from whatever theological standing-

point. As to the criticism of details, one objection has been justly urged against a too gay and decorative character in this monument, whose members are formed of various marbles, veined and coloured: the general basement of dark grey and black; the shaft of *cipollino*, peculiar for its veins of dark green; the capital (Corinthian) of Carrara; in which same marble are the four colossal statues at angles, and four bas reliefs on the lower basement. The expedient adopted for the sake of strengthening the shaft, which was found to be split after its selection for this destination, by encircling the lower part with a rich network of bronze, seems, though gracefully designed, to detract from the simplicity suitable to an elevation of this kind. Why, it is naturally asked, should a shaft have been selected already in an imperfect state, among the fragments of antiquity in this city, so rich in every description of marbles and columns of every material? (1) The bronze statue of the Madonna, exceeding the proportions of all the rest, which stands, with outspread arms, on a globe at the summit, has unfortunately given least satisfaction, its attitude being inappropriate, oratoric rather than devotional, for it is not the Oriental posture of prayer, so frequently presented in early frescoes and mosaics, but that of declamation. The low-bending head, and hands meekly folded over the breast, would have been the becoming action to express both the privileges and lowly-mindedness of the blessed and chosen One, at the most extatic moment in her mysterious history. It is believed, however, that the sculptor, Obici, in adopting this least devotional treatment, followed the suggestions of the party most

(1) This column was dug out of the earth in 1777, when discovered in laying the foundations of a convent in the Campo Marzo street, since which time it had lain neglected on the ground.

interested and authoritative, the Pontiff himself! But, whatever faults may be found, it cannot be denied that dignity, a fine adjustment of flowing draperies, and appropriate matronly beauty distinguish his statue. Among the other sculptures, the « Moses, » by Giacometti (an artist whose great merits have been recognised in Rome only within recent years) seems to me the finest: the head is veiled by a mantle, and shoots forth rays of glory — not the goat-like horns introduced in Michael Angelo's famous statue, but still, a detail seeming unsuitable to the marble; on the knee is an open volume, inscribed with lines in Hebrew, and on the pedestal the words, « Inimicitiam ponam inter te et mulierem: » the action and expression of the whole figure being grand, inspired, and venerable; with a finely blended character of mournfulness and indignation — the prophet-sorrow for the sins he denounces. « Isaiah, » by Ravalli, is, I believe, the most generally admired of these figures. In the act of writing, with veiled head and finely massive draperies, mantle and tunic, he seems to have just received the revelation uttered in the words below, « Ecce virgo concipiet, » and to wait with rapt attention and upturned gaze for the sequel. In the eyes of this figure the pupils are marked by incisions, which increases the eagerness, but had better, I think, have been omitted. « Ezechiel » is by Chelli, with the quotation, «Porta haec clausa erit, » a prophecy he seems to announce, raising one arm, and bending forward, to attentive multitudes. This figure is finely draped; but its whole character perhaps too vehement for the solemn office of the personage. « David, » by Tadolini, striking the harp, crowned, attired in a long mantle with deep ornamental border, and the epigraph beneath: «Sanctificavit tabernaculum suum Altissimus,» seems to me the least impressive or noble of the four statues — theatrical in gesture, and strained in the expression intended, but still (as, indeed, is the merit noticeable in all

these works) distinguished by a well-studied and majestic style of draperies. The bas-reliefs represent: the Promulgation of the Dogma at St. Peter's, by Galli, with portraits of Pius IX, Cardinal Antonelli, and other dignitaries — only remarkable for the correctness of the likenesses on so small a scale; the Dream of Joseph, by Cantalamessa (a young artist of high promise), who has treated his subject with grace and feeling — an angel standing in the centre, with the sleeping figures of Joseph and Mary, forming the group; the Annunciation, Gianfredi, rather a common-place treatment of its exhausted theme; the Coronation of the Virgin, Benzoni, decidedly the most original and beautiful of all, resembling the early conceptions of this subject by the devotional painters of Italy, and reminding us of the high purity that distinguish Cornelius and Overbeck. The Redeemer, enthroned amidst angels, appears placing the crown on the head of Mary, who is seated opposite, and meekly bends forward to receive her glorious reward. On the basement of the column are, at three sides, the armorial shield of the Pontiff in bronze; and at the fourth, an inscription recording the promulgation of the dogma, with the name of Pius IX, and that of Poletti, the architect to whom the erection of this memorial was intrusted. Taken in the aggregate, these sculptures, when contrasted with the frigid extravaganzas, and colossal flippancy of Italian statuary during the domination of the Bernini school, indeed till the time of Canova, certainly evince progress in all that constitutes the highest claims of Art. — Remembrance carries me back to an earlier date, to the sunset-hour of a glorious Winter's day, when, amidst a brilliant grouping on this spot, under a scarlet pavilion, with glittering array of troops around, the ceremony of laying and blessing the first stone for this Monument took place with procession and chanted hymn, prayer and holy water, as the Church prescribes, whilst a multitude fil-

led that piazza, leaving no place unoccupied whence what passed could be seen. Among spectators was pointed out to me, at a window, a Lady of striking aspect, whose thoughts one might have wished to dive into — George Sand, the impassioned artist and boldly speculative genius — what could be *her* impressions from a spectacle called forth by one of the highest assertions of claims in that ancient Hierarchy her antagonism to whose influences is well known? Was it regarded as a triumph of superstition, or did softer feelings awaken at the thought of that Type, personifying all most pure and blessed in Womanhood? Whatever this gifted Lady's opinion, it is certain that a strong impulse to popular piety, corresponded to in devout rejoicings and sacred pomps kept up for many months, resulted in Rome from that proclamation of Dogma, amidst circumstances of splendour, and with acclesiastical assemblage scarcely ever witnessed before even in the great Papal Basilica. But this procedure that undoubtedly touched the feeling of thousands by its consoling tribute to the ideal of Christian intercession, how has it acted on the Italian mind in the aggregate? Unfavourably, I believe (and why conceal the truth because unwelcome?) with results at least *not* conciliatory, or confirming ancient loyalty in the public temper, generally considered, towards the Holy See.

It was a characteristic circumstance that the convicts (*galeotti*) required to fulfil their sentence to forced labours by working at this monument, received liberty on completing their task, by act of grace expressly extended.

Turning from sculpture to Painting, we find another religious record to a recent event in Rome, perpetuated by aid of the latter Art.

Pius IX. desired to celebrate with peculiar solemnity the first anniversary of the day when he, together with so many of his court — Cardinals, prelates, and students of Propa-

ganda — had such a narrow escape at the Monastery of St. Agnes on the falling in of the floor, in a long abandoned room where the party was assembled after dinner, 12th April 1855. For that anniversary the Basilica on the Nomentan Way was reopened, after remaining closed for the whole year, to allow of a complete embellishment of its interior under the direction of an architect named Busiri — several other artists being employed. Over the archway of the tribune, Gagliardi has painted in fresco the Martyrdom of St. Agnes; Toritti, Bozzi, and Sireni have painted along the attic above the higher colonnade — for this beautiful old church has two tiers of columns, forming a gallery above the aisles — the most illustrious of the Virgin Martyrs; the nine Pontiffs, including Pius IX, who have contributed to the restorations of this temple at various epochs, are represented in medallions over the lower arcade; and immediately round the archivolts have been executed, by Vitali, decorative paintings in imitation of the inlaid marbles, frequently seen in ancient churches here. As to Gagliardi's fresco, I can say nothing in its praise but that it is a good specimen of a bad school — the pedantic and theatrical modern Roman; but the Virgin Martyrs are figures conceived in a higher feeling, partaking of that purity and earnestness that distinguish the Christian Art school revived in Germany. St. Agnes, on this morning, was superbly illuminated by chandeliers and candelabra, while a profusion of the choicest flowers filled immense vases in the sanctuary. The Pontiff celebrated Low Mass, and gave communion to a multitude of worshippers, including almost all those who had shared with him the danger and the deliverance. The *ex voto* chapel into which the room where the party fell, formed into one with that above, is now been reduced, has been adorned within the last year by a large fresco representing the event, by Tojetti, a subject infelicitous for Art, but which the painter has made about as little unpleasant, and as divested of the

ludicrous as could well be, his figures all portraits, and the escape dignified by the presence of St. Peter, who hovers above the figure, just risen from the fallen chair, of his crowned successor, while St. Agnes is seen interceding above. The restoration of the monastery, also ordered by the Pope after this event, is in a style grave and simple, but not altogether exempt from the paltriness peculiar to modern Roman architecture, and losing the ecclesiastical character by its too immediate exposure to the high road. Both the escape at S. Agnese and the erection of the Immaculate Conception Memorial have been celebrated by the Propaganda as leading subjects in its polyglot *Accademie*, in reference to the latter of which the English composition designated the column on the Piazza di Spagna, « a polished sentinel. » Higher proof of the capabilities of modern Rome in sacred Art was afforded on another solemn occasion, in 1855, when (4th August) the great Dominican church, *S. Maria sopra Minerva*, was thrown open after a restoration, commenced in'48, but long suspended owing to political troubles, the architectural direction having been assigned to Girolamo Bianchedi, a lay-brother of this large Convent, whose design, at first objected to by the Academy of St. Luke, was eventually approved after being tested at a certain degree of progress in its application. (1)

The re-opening of the Minerva was attended with great pomp. By the Pope himself was performed the consecration of its high altar, and the first Mass celebrated upon it; the Senate repaired in state to pay devotion to the shrine of St.

(1) This amiable and gifted man, who had restored several churches with approval, died at the age of 46, in 1849, a victim, it seems, to the agitations and terrors of the revolutionary epoch, combined with the effects of fatigue or anxiety attendant on his labours in this building.

Catherine of Siena, whose body lies here; and in the evening of the same day, those relics were borne through the streets, in a silver urn on a bier hung with crimson velvet, over-canopied by garlands of flowers, and supported by four bishops, an immense procession attending, formed by Regular Clergy, chapters of collegiate churches, students, and a company of ladies in white, *tertiaries*, or sisters of the third Order of St. Dominic. For three days, ceremonies with all the splendour possible in Rome, discourses and orchestral performances continued to attract multitudes to this church of the central Dominican Convent.

In its restored state this temple has a character imposing, but wants the harmonised solemnity and mystic expression of those « mighty ministers, dim and proud and vast, » presenting the finest types of pointed architecture in Northern Europe. Its height seems insufficient for its length; grace, rather than grandeur of forms, costliness of detail, colour, and gilding contribute, more than outline or proportion, to magnificence of effect.

A great disadvantage to the *ensemble* is the contrast between the body of the church and the lateral chapels, left without any restoration to the early type. The walls and columns are for the most part encrusted whith *scagliola*, (1) in successful imitation of variegated marble. The capitals and ribs are richly gilded; the vaults adorned with frescoes on a blue ground studded with gold stars, in the several compartments being figures of Prophets, Evangelists, Apostles, and Doctors of the Church; the Prophets in the choir, and over the nave, nearest the high altar, by Riccardi, who died October 1854, leaving four figures in another compartment to be finished, after his designs, by the Chevalier Gerardini; the Evangelists

(1) Prepared by two artists named Lega, of Forli.

in the Presbyterium, also the Greek and Latin Doctors in the transepts, by Oreggia; the half figures of Dominican Saints carried round the whole building in quatrefoils above the arcades, are, those in the transepts by Balbi, those of the nave by Riccardi and Gerardini, except two above the portal by Cosnedi. Of these frescoes Riccardi's have been most admired — and I have had opportunity of hearing from the great Cornelius a judgment giving them preference, among evidences of revived Christian art in Rome. The colouring of the windows is successfully imitated from the glass-painting of the XIV. and XV. centuries, partly prepared at the celebrated establishment of Bertini at Milan, partly by Moroni of Ravenna. To the former high altar of marble has been substituted one of metal gilt, wrought in the galvano-plastic process by Ceccarini — a happy imitation of ancient art, divided by colonnettes, with miniature open arcades and *rosoni*, the four Cardinal Virtues at the wings, and the cherub-heads (which have much childlike loveliness) in circlets, on the predella, by Podesti. When the stately grouping of High Mass (here daily celebrated) with the ascending clouds of incense and pealing organ, add the awfulness of Catholic ritual to the architectural beauty of this interior, one feels the special appropriateness of its Gothic design, and the whole seems to become a connecting link with medieval Christianity. Under this altar, and exposed to view, surrounded by ever burning lights and flowers, is the marble sarcophagus containing the body of St. Catherine of Siena, and her effigy on the cover, this being the urn in which her relics were deposited (1461) by St. Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence.

It is difficult to account for, but easy to trace, the decline of painting, particularly in sacred walks, throughout modern Italy; and from that decline not all the *éclat*, the wealth or potency of Catholicism at its central seat has by any means exempted Rome or her States. The low conditions of this

Art became, after the death of Raffael Mengs, (1779), too apperent here in the works of Bianchi, Mancini, Costanzi, though to some degree redeemed, in that century, by the superior talents of Pompeo Battoni. And the destinies of Sculpture remained, till towards the close of the century, analogous, if not in circumstances still worse. From the time criticism was taken by surprise, and the highest expectations seemed justified by a production so extraordinary, for a youth between the age of 15 and 16 as the *Aeneas and Anchises* of Bernini; again by the *David*, the *Apollo and Daphne*, finished when that artist was not much older, all in execution displaying technical skill scarcely instanced or approached at any period— from that time of delusive promises till the appearance of Canova, strange and deplorable were the aspects of sculpture in Rome, sinking from the exeggerated to the absurd and essentially vulgar, degrading the most sacred subjects by the most flippant treatment, till Angels became like ballet-dancers, Fathers of the Church like old buffoons, the expression of devout extasy confounded (as in the St. Theresa of the same Bernini) with that of sensuality, the Angel of Death transformed into a grinning skeleton, the adoring Cherub into a flabby baby. Penna's statue of Pius VI, in the Vatican Sacristy, Rusconi's Angels at the *Gesù*, Pacilli's *David* at S. Carlo, and the monument to Benedict XIV, by Bracci and Sibilla, are among latest proofs of degradation in the sculpture of the XVIII century, before an event from which may date the revived and nobler life in this Art — the erection of that monument to Clement XIV, at the SS. Apostoli Basilica, begun by Canova at the age of 24, and first exhibited in 1787, immediately exciting a sensation to which all Europe, in artistic circles at least, responded.

Turning to those who still live for the honour and continued advancement of Art, it may be affirmed that, since Canova, the highest place among Italy's sculptors indisput-

ably belongs to Pietro Tenerani, though at Florence one usually hears Bartolini (recently deceased) extolled as entitled to that supreme rank, certainly approached, if not attained by such genius as his. The greatest works of Tenerani have been executed within the last twenty years: a native of Carrara, he arrived first in Rome in 1815, about the time when Canova, with munificence and generous devotion to the interests of art, had just established annual competitions in sculpture, with liberal prizes. For this year the theme chosen was « the Resurrection, » and the young Tenerani presented an essay whose superiority was at once acknowledged and rewarded. Thorwaldsen invited him to become his associate and assistant; and these two gifted men remained together, rather, it is said, in the relations of father and son, than of master and pupil, for many years, only finally separated by death. Public duties have, in some degree, called the attention of Tenerani away from his art in late years, whilst political troubles have proved prejudicial to him, alike with all similarly occupied here. He has been appointed member of the Council of State, one of the few institutions of Pius IX, reintegrated (with modifications indeed) since the restoration of his government, and on the initiation of another administrative reform — the new Municipal Body — in the year 1847, Tenerani became a member of this also, worthily to represent the general interests of Italian art; this office he has resigned, but still retains that of State Councillor. In his works generally, it strikes me that there is, more than in almost any other of modern art, that peculiar power of embodying the intellectually *abstract*, the enduring and ideally true, which belongs to, may we not say is the grand essential requisite of high art in this province? His monuments are truly Christian in their poetic feeling; his sacred figures unaffectedly noble and grandly simple; his portraits full of intellectual individuality. One mo-

numental grouping among the most pleasing, if not the most majestic, is that of a Guardian Angel with a little child, not guided by, but unconsciously sporting at the feet of, its celestial protector, and gathering flowers — a touching and pathetic idea. In the conception of the angelic form, Tenerani has, in the judgment of many, perhaps all, surpassed whatever has been yet accomplished in Christian sculpture. His « Angel of the Resurrection, » on a monument lately erected in the Dominican Church, has a sublimity hardly to be described: a colossal figure, seated above the sarcophagus, with a trumpet held across the lap, the face intently gazing upward, as in expectancy of the signal to blow that blast at which the graves shall give up their dead; the might of a divine agent is combined with the serenity of angelic holiness, on that upturned countenance, that seems marked with adoring expectancy to which the ages of human existence are as one day, an expression that fills with awe — the language of poetry would be required worthily to describe which —

His eyes were dreadful, for you saw
That they saw God —

is a line by Mrs Browning that occurs to me in looking at this admirable Statue. The monument is to the Duchess Lante, whose figure recumbent, in high relief, is represented below, with much of tender matronly dignity.

This Artist's design for the monument to Pius VIII, not yet complete, though progressing, promises to throw into shades of obscurity all but the few by Canova, Thorwaldsen, Della Porta, among Papal mausolea at St. Peter's. It is to be placed in an aisle above the entrance to the corridor of the sacristy, and consists of a group, comprising the Saviour, Saints Peter and Paul, and the Pontiff — the Divine Being represented on a throne, at the summit, with arms extended to receive in mercy the suppliant presented to Him by the two Apostles, whose figures stand laterally to the base-

ment of this principal statue, that of the Pope being placed, kneeling, at a lower level. Among other works of Tenerani might be named, as peculiarly asserting his powers, the « Martyrdom of Cymodocea and Eudora » in the Colosseum, a basrelief, small in scale, but full of pathos and religious elevation; the St. John (at Naples), and St. Benedict (at St. Paul's); the Deposition from the Cross, a large relief, now over an altar at the Lateran, that strikes me as the most divinely affecting representation of this subject in sculpture; and, perhaps his very happiest in the mythologic range, the Psyche swooning after she has opened the fatal vase. Many critics might place on a par with him, in sacred subjects at least, and probably none would rank any lower than the first *after* Tenerani, among living Italian artists, Benzoni, one of the most productive sculptors in Rome, and remarkable for the vigorous enthusiasm with which he dedicates his whole existence to his art. In voluntary tribute of gratitude he has executed a species of memoir of his own career in a monument to the benefactor to whom he owes, immediately at least, his success in life and introduction to the path of distinction. That excellent man was a native of Brescia, who, having no family, appropriated a great amount of his fortune to the relief of others, and having been struck by something uncommon in Benzoni, then a friendless child of the humblest class, raised him from poverty and the sordid occupations which would have been his lot, placed him in a well-regulated college, with opportunity for studying the art to which he had a vocation, and finally sent him to Rome. The group represents a venerable man, wrapped in a long vestment, raising by the hand a little naked child, and pointing to the implements of artistic toil that lie near, in explaining which, Benzoni tells his own story with honourable frankness; and by this narrative once so delighted a royal visitor, that the latter embraced him with enthusiastic

expressions of interest, declaring he should never forget it, and that the sculptor should never want a friend at the court of St. Petersburg — for it was a brother of the reigning Czar who spoke. The number of Benzoni's works, for an artist far from old age, is extraordinary. One of his finest may be remembered in England, as seen at the Great Exhibition, « Cupid and Payche, » at the moment when, after restoring her to life, the god takes from her the vase of magic essences, to bear it to Venus; and, as here treated, Psyche caressingly clings to him, endeavouring to obtain back the vase she believes herself bound to take charge of: a group of exquisite gracefulness, the buoyantly elastic figure of Cupid, as he raises the vase beyond the reach of Psyche, uniting tenderness and playful exultation with a beauty of *pose* that could hardly be surpassed, this being the only moment in the fascinating story that had never, I believe, been treated before in sculpture. Benzoni shows originality of invention that passes beyond the more beaten tracks of sculpture, and in every province — historic, monumental, mythologic, scriptural — some creation of his chisel is to be seen, as instances of which versatility I may mention, « Diana setting out for the Chase, » « Achilles with the body of Patroclus, » ideal busts of the Seasons (very beautiful), « Pope Pius V. returning thanks in rapture of devotion on learning of the victory at Lepanto, » (a very striking figure, colossal, for a church at Milan), « the Virgin, when a child, instructed by her mother in the meaning of Isaiah's prophecies, » « Fidelity, » or a female child fallen asleep, whilst engaged in wreathing garlands, and guarded by her dog. In subjects more lofty and abstract, especially the religious, are displayed his highest powers. « Eve with the apple in her hand, hesitating whether to yield to the temptation or not, » is, I think, a work on which his reputation will rest rather than any other, the group of Cupid and Psyche excepted. It has the

merits alike of originality, moral expression truthfully conveyed, and great beauty in forms. The moment chosen, before the act of sin, is certainly new to sculpture, and its capability for fine illustration has been worthily apprehended in this instance. That struggle in the soul of Eve, her longing gaze at the forbidden fruit, and the species of repulsion with which, at the same time, she holds it back, the arm extended, the head turned towards but slightly recoiling from it — the expression of trouble in the lovely countenance, that indicates the admission of entirely new feelings and wishes into the sanctuary of a soul hitherto innocent; all these attributes are conveyed with striking appropriateness to the subject, and moral effect that powerfully impresses. The artist seems to have imbibed ideas from Milton in his conception of the beauty of Eve, luxuriant, but redeemed from the voluptuous by an unmistakable character of unconsciousness, of purity not yet *fully* awakened to the experience of guilt. Her figure, a little above life-size, is seated on a rock, whilst, beneath, the serpent is coiling upwards from a ground carpeted with flowers.

Not much less interesting proofs of this sculptor's originality are afforded by his « Virgin of the Immaculate Conception » full of serenely-exalted, yet lowly loveliness; his Assumption, an altar-piece relief, and monument to Cardinal Mai, representing that greatly learned man on his knees, offering his works, the fruit of an intellectually laborious life, to the Redeemer, who appears in a relief above — an appropriate and finely conceived memorial. Our Lord receiving the traitorous kiss of Judas, » and the *Ecce Homo* (Christ exposed to the people by Pilate) are two groups by Jacometti, universally applauded, both now standing in the atrium of the Scala Santa, for which they were purchased by Pius IX. The conception of the former is very fine — almost all, indeed, that even such a subject demands; the Saviour's figure

expresses deep sorrow, but perfectly calm resignation to this act of treason, as necessarily the first stage of his Passion, slightly bending towards Judas, whilst the latter places one hand round the head to lower it to his own stature, as he kisses the cheek, — verily a kiss that seems to inflict the sting of a scorpion, so infernal the expression with which it is imprinted. The artist has followed the type of the Redeemer's countenance, which may be said to have become conventionally recognised; and there is a character mournfully divine, distinguishing the delicately moulded features, at once commanding pity and reverence. The draperies are of the fashion given by old painters to scriptural figures, and show how happily this costume may be adapted to sculpture. Not quite equal, but still impressive and affecting is the other group, of two figures, in companionship with this; and the name of Jacometti has stood high in Rome since this exposition in the atrium here. (1) « The destroying Angel smiting the First-born of Egypt, » is by far the most remarkable work of Gnaccarini, an artist perhaps less known than he deserves, and seems to me a conception truly sublime: the attitude that of rapid motion, well expressed by the position of the limbs, and drapery sweeping, as moved by violent wind; while the hair remains unagitated, so that we perceive the tem-

(1) In the « Sanctum Sanctorum, » at the summit of the Holy Stairs, are preserved interesting specimens of the Italian Gothic, the fresco and mosaic Art of the XIII century, when was restored by Nicholas III, (1277-80) this chapel of the ancient Lateran Palace, deemed so sacred that it is *never* open to the public, and none but the Pope can celebrate on its altar. There is one occasion, however, when it may be entered, the morning of the day before Palm Sunday, the Lateran Canons then arriving in procession to open with solemnity the picture of the Saviour above this altar, exalted by many strange legends, but in regard to which we may admit the historic assurance that it was placed here by Stephen III, in 752.

pest proceeds from the Angel's presence, or that he, at least, as an etherealized being, is unaffected by it; the right arm holds a bow, the other, raised to a level with the head, draws an arrow from the quiver hanging behind. In the form and countenance youthful beauty is reconciled with the grandeur proper to the agent of divine vengeance, and the large eyes, not fixed on an earthly object, are solemnly raised as invoking the presence and guidance of Deity; the brow unruffled by the least semblance of wrath, the lips slightly parted, seeming formed to breathe accents of adoration rather than vengeance, while the large shadowy wings, spread at their full width, offord fine relief to the figure; rays of glory emanate from the head (an accessory not of good effect), and a band of stars passes, like a baldric, across the breast. Obici, whose Madonna stands on the memorial column, has finely treated the « St. John preaching in the Wilderness, » to form a companion to Michel Angiolo's statue of Christ, on opposite sides of the high altar in the Dominican church. — a striking and very expressive figure, with a certain wild grandeur of aspect that seems to admonish, to prophesy, and denounce. The artist's idea, as he explained to me, is that the Baptist should present a type of manly vigour and beauty, only to a degree subdued and emaciated by the effects of a mortified life. Turning to works not partaking of the sacred character, I might particularize many of merit among late productions in sculpture belonging to the poetic and mythologic provinces — as the *Ophelia*, a lovely and affecting figure, by Rosetti; the « Erminia, » « Rinaldo and Armina, » « Cassandra, » the « Lady of the Lake, » « Jeanne d' Arc, » all by Rinaldi, a veteran but still energetic artist, the former pupil of Canova, whose studio he occupies. His portrait statue of Adelaide Ristori as the Comic Muse will be regarded with more interest now than when first exhibited, and may be supposed an admirable like-

ness of the great Actress as she looked some twenty years ago. Rinaldi also may be classed with those successful in sacred subjects, as shown in his « Eve penitent, » Rebecca at the well, Hope, the Virgin and Child, the Infant Christ cc, great variety distinguishing his genius. Gajassi's «Bacchante,» slumbering in fatigue after a mystie frenzy, is an elaborately finished figure with something poetic in the dreamy languor of the head and whole attitude, but not altogether pleasing, and likely to be objected to, in some countries at least; on grounds of delicacy. He has designed a monument to Palladio, for a piazza at Vicenza, consisting of a single portrait statue, standing calm and self collected, wrapt in a mantle, on a lofty pedestal — thus to supply the want of a public memorial to the celebrated architect, no sculptured record to whom has yet been erected, except in the cemetery where his remains lie, at the same city. « St. George, » as he now styles a figure in mediaeval armour, originally intended for the personification of military prowess, on a monument to Bolivar erected at Lima, is one of his most successful — quite the *beau ideal* of the romantico-heroic; but by far the most loftily ideal of Gajassi's works is his colossal figure of Justice, calmly and grandly expressive of that attribute, in the Torlonia chapel at the Lateran.

Among other recently executed sculptures of merit, now in churches of Rome or its vicinity, are: the monument to Gregory XVI by Amici (a young artist educated at the Polytechnic College of S. Michele) with a portrait statue well treated, majestic figures of Time and Prudence, and a relief comprising many portraits — altogether very superior to the *generality* of sculptures at St. Peter's; the monument to the great artist, Finelli, by Rinaldi, at S. Bernardo; the St. Francesca of Rome, also at St. Peter's; the Entombment and the four Evangelists, reliefs in the Torlonia chapel by Galli; the Virgin and Child, the Saviour in act of blessing, and

St. John the Baptist, all three for the cathedral of Udine, by Luccardi, whose fertile talents (displayed in an amply filled studio) have won recognition beyond the Alps since the erecting of his monument to Metastasio at Vienna; the St. Peter and St. Paul, by Revelli and Jacometti, at the Ostian Basilica; a « Pietà, » or group of the Virgin, St. John and the Magdalene, with the Dead Christ, to be executed in terra cotta, for a rural church in one of the mountain districts near Rome — by Jacometti, a fine composition, in which the various expressions of sorrow are well contrasted with the calm awfulness of death. But another work, spoken of by the same title, though more properly to be called a « Deposition from the Cross, » by Achtermann (a German artist long resident here), has excited greater attention, and received unanimous praises, this colossal group in marble representing the moment when Joseph of Arimathea lowers the Body from the cross, St. John and the Virgin receiving its burden, whilst the Magdalene kneels to kiss its feet. The effect is powerful — I might say, dramatic — exciting interest and emotion by a pathos simply but forcibly expressed, wakening a sense of reality which cannot but partake of the sublime, when such is the subject brought palpably before us. It is destined for a chapel in the cathedral of Munster, whither the artist went to superintend its erection. The Pope visited his studio expressly to see this remarkable work, with whose merits that illustrious visitor expressed himself highly pleased; and another critic, whose authority rests on very different claims, Mrs. Jameson, has spoken very highly, within my hearing, of this, the most admirable group Achtermann has yet completed. By him is another « Pietà, » with the sole figures of Mary and the dead Christ, also for the same cathedral of Munster; and it is to sacred subjects that he principally devotes himself. The preference for such is, indeed, becoming more marked, to judge

from the present contents of several studios in Rome. Imhoff, a Swiss, and Hoffmann, a German, almost entirely devote themselves to this class of Scriptural or other sacred themes. By the latter was finished, some time ago, what struck me as decidedly his most original and effective work — St. John the Evangelist seated at the feet of Christ, looking up into the face of the Divine Master, for whose accents he seems to wait with tender reverence, full of love and trust, that seem corresponded to in the benign dignity with which the heavenly precepts are being conveyed.

The origin of Art Universities in Rome is ancient. It was in 1471 that Sixtus IV gave sanction to statutes for a guild of this description, whose members had long previously held assemblies in a building attached to *S. Luca*, a small church on the Esquiline Hill. But that body admitted artisans on the same terms with practitioners of a higher order; and it was reserved for a painter of the XVI century, Muziano, to suggest the foundation of an Academy exclusively appropriated to the Fine Arts, which commenced its existence auspiciously under patronage of Gregory XIII, in 1577, but did not receive its fuller privileges or final constitution till 1588, being then sanctioned by Sixtus V, at the instance of Federigo Zuccaro, its first « Prince » (or president), and was finally inaugurated in the edifice ever since occupied by this Institution, adjoining the church of *S. Martina* on the Forum, in 1595. The original regulations drawn up by Zuccaro having been departed from or modified in many respects, a reformed rule was given to the Academy under Pius VII, when it revived through the exertions of Canova, a great benefactor, who now became president. Under the protection of the Cardinal Camerlingo, with a President, Vice-president, perpetual Secretary, Secretary of Council, and Economist, this institution comprises Academicians «of merit and honour,» of the former twelve for each department,

Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, as well as in separate schools for landscape and intaglio, all these required to be Italians of Catholic persuasion; and twenty foreigners, of whatever creed — this aggregate forming the Academic Body «of merit;» whilst the *honorary* are of unlimited number, may be of whatever country or creed.

The Academy possesses revenues bequeathed by different benefactors, and its affairs are regulated by a Council of 24 Members under the President and Secretary. It holds public schools, supported by an annual stipend from Government of 5000 scudi, for gratuitous tuition, providing lectures on Painting, Sculpture, theoretic and practical Architecture, Geometry, Anatomy, History, Mythology, and ancient costume; a school of the Nude being also under its direction. The competitions to which it invites artists are Semestral, Annual, and Triennial: of the last are two, one, founded by Clement XI, for Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, in which subjects must be sacred; the other, by the artist Balestra, who left all his fortune to the Academy; and for this latter subjects not sacred are prescribed. Every three years the works of students are rewarded according to judgment of the whole Academy, for these Clementine and Balestra competitions, the adjudication being celebrated with pomp in the great hall of the Capitol, in presence of the Sacred College, Prelacy ec, with entertainment of another sort, in the usual Roman style, by literary self-exhibitors, who celebrate the praises of the fine Arts in prose and verse. A general idea of the native Art in modern Rome may be obtained by visiting the lower suite of halls in the locale of this Academy, filled with works *premiate* at the several competitions during the last thirty years, and upwards — oil pictures, drawings, architectonic designs, and casts. Considered in their aggregate, a coldly academic character displeases in these compositions, mostly on subjects from sacred or ancient Roman history, and per-

petually reminds of the school founded by David, of which Pietro Benvenuti and Vincenzo Camuccini were the ablest Italian followers. Their groups seem like *tableaux vivans* on the stage. To the credit of this Academy it must be added that its gallery of casts and school of the Nude (in the new establishment, Via Ripetta) are open to students gratuitously, through application to the President (now the illustrious Tenerani), and its lectures, given in those buildings on four days of the week, may be attended by all. Another Academy, « the Virtuosi of the Pantheon, » also opens an annual competition for prizes with prescribed subjects, and exhibits the designs offered in the buildings attached to that church. Much more ambitious and frequented are the annual displays at the French Academy, first in origin and prominence among Institutions of this kind belonging to foreign Governments in Rome, founded in 1666 by Louis XIV, on the instance of Le Brun, and transferred, early in this century, from a palace on the Corso to the Medici Villa on the Pincian, the pleasant and spacious residence once of the Cardinal de' Medici, who became Leo XI, and subsequently of the Tuscan diplomatic Ministers. Twenty-four is the number of students, dedicated to Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, and Intaglio, a few also to music, who reside here, each enjoying a pension of 30 crowns per month, during six years, under a President appointed for the same term, and *ex officio* connected with the Academy of St. Luke. Next in order of time ranks the Neapolitan Academy, founded in the last century by Charles III, and which used to exhibit in the Palazzo Farnese; but, since the events of '48, its residence on the Lungara (Trastevere) has remained shut up, for, though students are still pensioned as formerly, they are no longer allowed to settle in Rome, but must study at Naples, in the fear (characteristic of the high quarters thus provident) of their imbibing such poison as revolutionary ideas! Other govern-

ments, though not possessing academic residences for their subjects in Rome, have long been accustomed to pension a certain number, placed to pursue artistic studies here — as Austria and Russia, the two most liberal in this respect, the latter of whom has maintained an average of between 12 and 24, giving also gratuitous lodging to a few of these pensioners; while Tuscany, Prussia, Denmark, Belgium, Holland have extended their bounty to a smaller number, not (I believe) exceeding 3 or 4 in each instance. Spain, once liberal, since the political vicissitudes of her recent story, has discontinued the pensioning of students, (not, that I am aware, yet resumed), though many of her subjects are among the artists settled here. The Germans, from whatever State, have a common centre in their Club, with a fine suite of rooms, at the Palazzo Simonetti, to which artists of other countries may be admitted, and indeed all approved applicants for a trifling subscription. Here are sometimes given excellent concerts; and by the same artistic society is annually got up, in May, the «Cervara Festival,» a species of maskerade *fête champêtre* on some picturesque spot of the Campagna, now usually on the site of the vanished Fidenae, where, after the banquet *al fresco*, games, races, mock combats, recitations, songs ec, entertain a multitude of spectators following in the track to enjoy this «Artist's Carnival,» as it is called, in which, though of German origin, all nationalities may participate. The English have a well-regulated Academy with schools for drawing from the life, and a small but valuable library of general literature, formed by various donations, open in the Winter evenings, not only to members, but other readers, by permission often obligingly granted, though the former alone can take books away.

It would be beyond the limits of these pages to enumerate all sacred subjects treated, within late years, by foreign artists in Rome. In Sculpture, Laboureur and Bienaimé

(foreigners only by extraction) have long been among th most productive, but dedicated rather to the mythologic an classically heroic than the range of themes here considered though the « Guardian Angel and Child,» by the latter, gracefully embodies a Christian idea. Perhaps no *biblical* subject has ever been presented with more pathos, in sculpture, than the « Jephtha and his Daughter, » by Wolff, in which deeply sorrowful emotion, variously expressed by the majestic warrior and resigned girl, appears subdued before a loftier principle alike possessing both. Imhoff's « Remorse of Adam and Eve » also presents affecting contrast of grief and penitence, expressed conformably with the character of the two sexes; and « Eve penitent » (a single figure) is one of the most admirable by Mr. Bartholomew, an American Sculptor of high abilities, whose recent premature death must be mourned by his country and all interested in his Art. Mr. Crawford, of the same country, alike prematurely cut off in the full vigour of life and genius, left a great variety of works, finished or unfinished, in his much frequented studio, none more powerfully original than his colossal figures for the immense Monument to Washington, belonging to that class (the romantic, poetic, and historic) in which his greatly versatile genius best exerted itself. The completion of that Memorial has been assigned by the United States Government to Mr. Rogers (another American long resident in Rome), also of fertile and vigorous talent, fond of starting into such unbeaten walks, the romantic and poetic, as suggest ideas or treatment quite novel to his Art, and never hitherto more effectively displayng his powers than in his admirable historic reliefs and statuettes, with graceful arabesque borderings, to be cast in bronze for the portals of the Capitol at Washington. America is also represented by Mr Story, a sculptor of refined taste and poetic conceptions; and Mr Mozier, whose lately finished *Esther*, in rich Oriental costume, has much

graceful dignity, and whose best group is the « Return of the Prodigal Son » — an affecting subject finely treated, some years ago, by a distinguished artist who has since left Rome for England, Mr Theed. Such Sculptors as Gibson, Macdonald, Spence, Cardwell, still remain worthily to represent British Art in the Eternal City. The second of these is admirable in portrait (busts and statues), without confining himself exclusively to that walk, having displayed in classic subjects equal ability. Well known is the bias of Mr Gibson's genius for poetic abstractions and the idealised beautiful in mythologic fable: seldom choosing themes directly Christian, he has imparted to those borrowed from Paganism the depth of feeling, moral refinement, and spirit of purity that can scarcely fail to flow from a divine Religion for influencing the creations of a true genius, however their subject may be foreign to the province of revealed Truth. Evidence of this seems afforded by his exquisitely treated and deeply significant illustrations of the story of Psyche, his *Aurora* scattering dew over the earth; and (in other aspects) two of his later works, fine examples of the power to reproduce the purest and highest in ancient Greek idea, the *Pandora* and *Bacchus*. His practise of *tinting* the marble, most pleasingly applied to his *Venus* (a statue of perfect loveliness and faultless execution) has not won general applause, or found any imitators in Rome; but it would be most incorrect to describe as « colouring » what is in fact but a species of adumbration, to raise the remembrance, rather than imitate the effect of life-tints. Mr Spence (formerly Gibson's pupil) is now among the first and most actively engaged sculptors in Rome, who has passed through a wide range, the mythologic, historic, sacred, and monumental — in all showing abilities that have deserved the reputation now generally confirmed. Looking only at the last classification among his numerous works, one might dwell with most interest upon a group, full of

spiritualized beauty, the «Angel's Whisper» (suggested by the ballad of Lover on a touching Irish superstition); also, on a more elaborate composition, remarkable for majestic *pose* and expressive announcement of its subject, the « Finding of Moses. » Mr Cardwell's » Good Samaritan » is a group that tells its story with affecting truthfulness, deserving perhaps the first rank among his works, of which, in quite another range, the *Cinderella* is one of the most pleasing. Mr Shakespeare Wood, who has treated more commonly, besides portrait reliefs and busts of great fidelity, subjects suggested by modern poets, Longfellow, Schiller ec, has also illustrated with graceful effect another scripture parable, the «Ten Virgins, » represented in two figures only, one with her lamp burning, and one of those whose oil is exhausted at the Bridegroom's coming.

As to painting, for sacred illustration in modern Art at Rome, little indeed of *native* produce can awaken much interest. True, such artists as the late Camuccini and Agricola (see their altar-pieces at St. Paul's, the *Gesù* ec.) and Minardi, still living, have deserved to stand in higher places than many concurrents; and Podesti is a historic painter of imagination, ably exerted in his large dramatically effective picture, the siege of Ancona in the XII century. The works in restored churches, and others above-mentioned, exhibit perhaps the best capabilities of the present day, if we add to the list Gagliardi's frescoes (his largest and most spirited) of the Crucifixion and Adoration of the Magi, at *S. Girolamo degli Illirici*; Balbi's (now in progress) on the vaults of *S. Agostino*; and some pleasing figures of Franciscan Saints at *S, Isidoro*, the Irish Convent-church of that Order. Far more striking, among works recently painted in churches, are those by foreign hands: the frescoes round the walls of the old chapter-house at *S. Sisto*, by Besson, a French Dominican (commissioned by Father Mullooly, the estimable

Prior of the Irish Dominicans at *S. Clemente*) representing miracles of St. Dominic, his meeting with St. Francis, and Saints of his Order, in a superior style that bears analogies with the German sacred school; also, by the German Roden, the Saviour, the Virgin, and St. Joseph, solemn figures reminding of the early mosaics, in the apse of the church just finished for the English Redemptorists from the design of Mr. Wigley, in the earliest pointed style, with effect (unlike any other building here) of pleasing and grave simplicity. The higher enjoyments of modern Art, as Handmaid to Religion, are indeed to be secured at Rome principally in the studios of Germans, — Overbeck, Cornelius, Flatz, Seitz, Emmler, Wittmer, Platner — at the first of which the veritable levee, assembled for some hours every Sunday, attests the appreciation of Europe for that great and truly religious genius, still exhaustless after a long career. No public building in Rome contains any work by Overbeck; but his large picture, ordered by the Pope, now covers a ceiling in the Quirinal Palace, above the room where Pius VII was seized to be carried away by the French, its subject (chosen as mystically appropriate) the Saviour miraculously escaping from the Jews beyond the edge of a precipice — grand in composition, but displayng the artist's least admirable aspects as a colourist. Cornelius, during the late years of his residence here, has confined himself to small sketches, in crayon or water-colours, but ever worthy of his high antecedents, leaving the copying of these on large scale to pupils. Flatz, exclusively treating sacred themes, must be recognised as a genius kindred with Overbeck — the same deep feeling and calm earnestness. An exhibition exclusively national was first opened by the Germans here in the Winter of '59, by a happy thought carried into effect with much success, the departments both of painting and sculpture filled by many works of merit, especially in the walks of sacred illustration — the sculp-

ures of Achtermann, Wittig, Kropf, the drawings of Emmler and Cornelius, the oil-paintings of Platner, Seitz ec. The other annual exhibition, for all nations, sustains no character worthy of a great Art-metropolis, but indeed rarely secures the support of any standing in the highest walks either as painters or sculptors, though sometimes may be seen a noticeable contribution from Podesti, Catalani, or Cochetti, and often very pleasing *genre* pieces by English, Belgian, Swiss, Russian, or North Italian artists (1).

To complete acquaintance with modern Sculpture in Rome, one should not pass unvisited the studios of those who, still among the younger, may be considered in the stage of developing powers: Cantalamessa (mentioned above), who shows much feeling and taste in poetic subjects; Mr Akers, whose lately finished « Pearl-diver drowned » would alone suffice to distinguish him as an artist of truthfulness and pathos; Miss Hosmer, a young American Lady, the pupil of Mr Gibson, original and fertile in imagination, enthusiastically self-devoted (2); and Fabj Altini, Tenerani's pupil, whose works contain promise (to speak from personal im-

(1) Photography has been carried to perfection by Messrs. Macpherson and Andersone nor could there be a more pleasing series of memorials, to recall Rome's monuments, ruins or antique sculptures, than the portafolio of the former supplies. Among the long established English artists who have best illustrated the landscape around Rome, may be mentioned Mr Strutt, who follows his father in this career. Mr Brown (the American) so eminent in the same walk, I have already named. Williams, Lehmann, Riedel, Orloff, Werner continue to produce fascinating pictures of the genre class; and one by Mr. Leighton, the « Procession of Cimabue's Madonna to her church in Florence, » made quite a sensation, a few years since, when finished here.

(2) By her is an affecting monument, to Miss Falconnet, at *S. Andrea delle Fratte*. Among other recently erected monuments, is

pressions) of attainments that may entitle him to rank among the highest. These Artists, like several others living, like the lamented Fipetti and Revelli (both recently deceased) — have also shown, more or less, preference for the idealised historic and Christian over mythologic subjects.

This continually increasing tendency to the Christian rather than the Pagan in the direction of Art, whether to be ascribed to confirmed earnestness in thought, or interest in Religion, and the great facts of its announcement, may be considered among auspicious evidences to the great law of progress in the human mind, and to a deepening sense of the beautiful in Christianity. It also adds to the many proofs of the spirit-stirring power in Catholicism to elicit that which is highest from genius in application to the Infinite, though far from authorizing the *exclusive* claims, in the Church, to such merit. If Canova mainly contributed, by correct taste and chastened feeling, to bring back Art to its nobler principles, the strictly religious direction of its efforts connot be so much attributed to him as to other influences, to Thorwaldsen perhaps more than any individual, and to the German more than any other school. Modern Rome (though many Pontiffs have generously patronised, and others often evinced

one by Spence to an English officer, at the Protestant cemetary; one by Benzoni (very beautiful) to an English child at the *Gesù*; and by the same artist is the Memorial to the Heart of O'Connell, at the church of the Irish College, with reliefs of Ireland mourning, consoled by an Angel, and O'Connell before the bar of Parliament, refusing to take the anti-catholic oath, many of the figures around being portraits. The higher religious character now apparent in funereal sculpture may be appreciated when we compare recent examples with the monuments at St. Peter's: solemnity and ideal repose, now aimed at in the character of these works, have indeed only reappeared of late after their total absence from the monuments of about three centuries.

the highest sense of their calling for the encouragement of genius and science) has certainly *not* proved a centre of high or regenerating influences to Art, whose conditions, for about two centuries, were lamentably debased in this Capital, as evident especially in one walk, where worthier things might well have been looked for, ecclesiastical architecture, so signally debased here since the building of St. Peter's, that we are constrained to consider that great event, in its consequences at least, a misfortune to the destinies of Art. While, indeed, a tricky species of imitation, not entitled to any artistic rank, is allowed to insult the majesty of the temple and of worship, in form of dressed-up wax groups, or tawdrily adorned images paraded in processions — so long will it remain to be lamented that a signal perversion of agency, degrading to a species of *fetichism* that which should be the worthy interpreter between the visible and invisible, has still to be eradicated from the popular religious practise here, for the honour of Catholicism, whose true principles repudiate all this. I can imagine nothing more injurious to true piety, or suited to produce confusion in popular ideas of the supernatural and its evidences, than the claims put forth for certain holy pictures, such as convulsed many minds during the panic of the last century's revolutions, in these States; again appealed to credulity at Rimini in 1850, and again at Rome in '54. That such illusions are referrible to the laws of optics, seems sufficiently clear, as was explained to me the first time I visited the church in Rome where an indifferent picture of the « Ecce Homo » was said to be thus moving its eyes before continually pressing crowds, amidst solemn services ordered for the occasion. Nor was my informant inexperienced or sceptical, but on the contrary, a sincerely believing Catholic, an artist, and a British subject. Observation since, on paintings where the eyes are similarly treated, has convinced me of the cor-

rectness of that explanation; as I also felt convinced that, had authorities anticipated the effect produced on minds, not among the scoffing or politically excited, whose impressions were made known to me, this attempt at reviving medieval superstition would have been avoided as dangerous and compromising. To account for such contradiction between vulgar practise and higher principles, as sometimes startles in Rome, one should perhaps refer to the compromising circumstances of political position, by which spiritual are too often confounded with temporal interests; a system directed to heavenly aims, with another pertaining to police, to objects of the earth earthy.

Yet it must be owned that this Government has proved, where Art and Antiquity are concerned, liberal by tradition; especially within the last 40 years have large sums been spent from its treasury for restorations, new works, embellishments. For ages to come may the Eternal City regret the loss of that Venus, regally beautiful, discovered last Winter by Signor Guidi in excavating beyond the Porta Portese, and since acquired for a Russian Museum at the price of 50,000 francs. Under the present Pope, however, expenditure for interests within this sphere, has been freely dealt out. For the works at St. Paul's nearly the whole cost has devolved on the treasury, the collection made throughout Europe not having brought in more than 1,600,000 francs. The excavating of the tombs along the Appian Way, suggested and directed by Canina (1850-53), cost 16,000 scudi. For the Immaculate Conception Memorial was voted 40,000, probably much within this actual outlay; and the monument to Gregory XVI cost 14,000 scudi to the Cardinals created by him. Amidst financial embarrassments well-known, annual sums still continue to be voted by this Ministry for art and antiquarian objects, the amount of which, in the estimates for 1856, reached Sc. 244,000. Under this head are also large incomings. Sta-

tistics of Commerce in Art, annually published, showed the items to have been, for 1858, the following: Modern Pictures exported, 166, 801 scudi; ancient (allowed to leave because judged inferior) 4,189; modern Sculptures exported —246, 573; ancient 5,474 scudi. But the claims of taste, on the side of authority in Rome, may well be demurred to. Cicognara remarks how backward was this City, even in intelligence of her own classic wealth, and after the *renaissance* movement had elsewhere given impulses, when such a cento of picturesque absurdities as the *Mirabilia* could be published here, between 1471-74, as authorized guide to the local antiquities, bound up in one volume with the list of Indulgences at the several churches and festivals, under the title, *Mirabilia et Indulgentiæ Urbis Romæ*. It is observed by Kugler that, from the latter years of the XVI century, the completest degeneracy of the Arts was exemplified here, every active cause then contributing in Rome to their destruction. From this period Gregory XIII and his successors did indeed erect many buildings, and order many pictures; but, in that accredited critic's words: « rapidity of hand alone had value in their eyes; Art was degraded to the lowest mechanical labour; » and cotemporary with this corruption, the same writer not too severely remarks « a general decline in Italian power, in politics, in the Church, and Literature. » Certainly the sacrifice of the frescoes by Masaccio, Gentile da Fabriano, and other able pencils, painted on the attics of the Lateran, when that church was restored in the XV century (see Bunsen's *Beschreibung*), afterwards effaced for some wretched deformation of modern architecture — and the annihilation, under Paul III, of the entire chapel, in the Vatican, surrounded by the paintings of Fra Angelico, for such a trivial object as the enlargement of a staircase — these were outrages not to be permitted where any high or just estimate of Christian Art predominated. The excellent Benedict XIV defaced his

capital by structures at once meaningless and pretentious; and the most awful subjects were then represented on the shrines round the Colosseum, in a style that seems scarce reverential. In sculpture was manifest the same corrupt taste in the absolute empire accorded to Bernini, throughout the career of his long life (1598-1680); and, much more recently, in that favouritism which, under Gregory XVI, gave almost exclusive patronage to two artists, diligent and clever indeed, but never classed with the first in Rome or Italy. In the decorative applied to sacred occasions, a more false and theatrical taste shows itself here than in almost any Italian city (Naples excepted); at St. Peter's, for the solemnities of a Beatification, the huge representations of miracles ec. in body-colour, are in the coarsest style of scene-painting; and many an educated Catholic might sigh at beholding, amid the splendid rites for the great Apostle's festival in his grandest temple, the dressing-up of his bronze statue that degrades a venerable antique from the time of St. Leo, (V century), by glittering robes and paste jewels, into a rarce show of barbaric absurdity! Still less excusable, from the artistic point of view, was the *permanent* clothing of certain figures by Canova, (1) in the same church, that excited general ridicule, some years since, against a narrow-minded puritanism least expected here. Yet, even from the earliest ages, we see the Catholic sentiment expressed most emphatically by Pontiffs, in admitting the value of Art as means for acting on man's spiritual nature. It is this that speaks in the letter of Adrian I to Charlemagne, referring to the primitive mosaics (still extant) at *S. Maria Maggiore*; and in that opposition Rome so zealously sustained against Iconaclast fanaticism. The same principle declared itself in the ardour with which Leo III,

(1) On the monument to the Stuarts and that of Clement XIII, where draperies of zinc were then provided.

from A. D. 795, began to adorn the Lateran with paintings, mosaics, and stained glass (an ornament then first introduced); and the munificent care of so many other Pontiffs, between the years 800 and 1000, for rendering that Basilica the great centre of artistic wealth and beauties, according to the means possessed in those ages (1). Perhaps we may not be mistaken in dating from the period when the temporal power began most to occupy Rome, the causes for decline of purer taste, and growth of principles tending to splendour rather than the beautiful, as exemplified most in that secular and *courtly* character prevailing amidst all the pomp and prodigality of St. Peter's, indeed, more or less, in all the major Basilicas. As to the care of antiquities, certainly intelligence and liberality are applied to the tasks of preserving and restoring; and in this department of public works, the Ministry has lately revised, it is understood for improvement, the regulations in force, originally emanating, in 1820, from the *Camerlingato*, to which office has since pertained the guardianship over antique monuments, though those of Christian origin are now under separate care, as prescribed by Pius IX. Yet even in this province, where there is so much to approve, one is sometimes amazed at the inconsistencies of Roman authority — see, for instance, the shameful neglect of one of the most beautiful remains from antiquity, the portico of the Minerva Pallas Temple, left enclosed in a labyrinth of squalid streets, its fluted shafts more than half embedded in earth, its sculptured friezes serving to shelter the smoke-begrimed cell of a third-rate ba-

(1) The catalogue of objects in gold, silver, and precious marbles, including images of the Saviour, the Apostles, the Virgin, bestowed on Basilicas by Leo III, occupies about one third of that Pontiff's history by Anastasius. His gifts to the Lateran alone are estimated at 68,000 pounds stirling (v. Agincourt, and Rumohr, *Ital. Forschungen.*)

kery! In Rome exists a Censorship, but Criticism, as an ordered system, is wanting; and if asked to point out the causes for those short-comings and inconsequences that often offend or startle, often mar the grandeur and harmony that seem nearly attained, but just, through some fatality, missed, we might refer to the never-too-much regretted deficiency, here always felt, in the absence of that great corrective agent, a freely expressed and intelligent Public Opinion.

Our acquaintance with German Art in Rome would be incomplete without a visit to the Masssimi Villa, near the Lateran, on whose walls were finished, in 1829, the series of frescoes illustrating the three great Italian Epics; and perhaps few galleries (certainly none in this country) could better enable to appreciate all that most distinguishes that school of revived Christian Art — its poetic and romantic imaginativeness, its grandeur in simplicity, its earnest religious sentiment. One chamber is filled by the scenes from Ariosto, finely animated compositions of Schnorr. Another contains the Dante series, the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio* by Koch; the Glory of the Beatified, for the *Paradiso*, by Veit. The *Gerusalemme* of Tasso, in the principal room, is most strikingly illustrated by the joint labours of Overbeck and Führich, who seem to have united their efforts with singular harmony in character and purpose. By the former are: Peter the Hermit preaching before Godfrey and the Crusaders (very impressive); the Combat of Argante; the Angel appearing to Godfrey in the camp on the sea-shore; Clorinda in her flight meeting the shepherds on the Jordan; Sophronia interposing to save the lovers condemned to die at the stake; the Garden of Armida; the mystic Jerusalem, or the earthly idealized into the heavenly City. Not only intrinsic merits, but

interest as connected with personal history attaches to these works of Overbeck, for it was whilst engaged on this series that the great Artist's reflections led him to the resolution of henceforth dedicating himself exclusively to sacred themes; and about the same period was taken that step of abandoning the Protestant for the Catholic communion, so fraught with consequences to his future career — for more intensely *Catholic* than his perhaps no art-creations ever were since the Beato Angelico's; and he has been heard to say, that before that change in ecclesiastical position, no representation of the Virgin Mother that his pencil could produce, ever satisfied him. Yet, on the other hand, how lowered by triviality the holiest subjects in works of Catholic Art native to Rome! how false the sentiment that has transformed the meek and blessed Mother into a stern Juno-like matron, as in the statue by Giacomo Tatti (Sansovino), perpetually disfigured by jewelry and tinsel, ever surrounded by kneeling devotees, at the Augustinian church — into the insipid self sufficient Beauty, theatrically enthroned on clouds, as in the altar-piece, by Bianchi, of that choir-chapel, where the Pontiff himself fastened a crown over her head as final act of the grand ceremonial for proclaiming the Immaculate Conception Dogma! Alike may reason and piety be offended by such a picture as the Redeemer darting death at the Apostate Julian, by Baglioni, in the Borghese chapel, *S. Maria Maggiore*; and the last degradation of so high an ideal subject as the personified Church seems exemplified, with strange perversion, in Rome's grandest Sanctuary, by the coarse virago, wearing the tiara and hurling thunderbolts, expressive only of vindictive and hateful passion — one of the figures in high relief, among others alike vulgar and undignified, so awkwardly placed on the spandrils of the arches at St. Peter's. Nor can we forget that, in another Roman church, one of the noblest sculptures of the most sublime

subject is the work of a Protestant, Thorwaldsen — the Redeemer (a cast only) at *S. Martina*. For farther illustration of Dante (hitherto a mine little explored by Italian Art) we may observe the statue of *Beatrice*, a graceful and earnestly expressive figure, by Fabj Altini (the young sculptor above-named); that of one of the historic females introduced in the *Paradiso*, by Cantalamessa; and a lately commenced series by several Roman artists, in the intent of forming a moveable exhibition to be seen by torchlight, consisting of several large pictures in a species of distemper, which, in this broadly treated and scenic style, have an effect indeed startling, as those that I have seen already finished, and thus artificially luminous, impressed me. The artist director of this novel undertaking is Professor Bigioli, one of those who (like Minardi and Agricola) have acquired reputation as draftsmen, without attempting much accomplishment in colouring: by illustrations of the *Perfetto Leggendario*, and by graceful drawings slightly shaded and lithographed, the « Hundred Holy Families, » it is that Bigioli is chiefly known — in that last series showing himself the student of Raffael, altogether (as it strikes me) with more success, design at least considered, than appears in the many Holy Families by Maratta. Another *biblical* subject in sculpture should be added to the above list of recent works, the « Crossing of the Red Sea, » ably represented in a relief, with strict adherence to the historic in costume, by Mr. Gatley; and it would be unfair to omit from the range of heroic subjects, by the living sculptors in Rome, the « Achilles and Penthisilea, » a spirited group by Engel; or the various finely treated statues by Troschel, both German Artists. (1)

(1) Of the above, and the chapters « Summer » and « Autumn, » some parts have appeared in the *Critic*.

MONUMENTAL MOSAICS; THE POPE AND THE EMPEROR.

There is a most significant art-monument in Rome, which (taking a wide step backwards in chronologic order) brings us again to the topic dwelt on in the first pages of this volume — the mosaic in the Lateran Triclinium, from an original placed in that ancient Palace of the Popes by Leo III, shortly after he had crowned Carlemagne at St. Peter's, on Christmas day, A. D. 800. That banquet-hall, or Triclinium, added to the Lateran buildings by the same Pope, used for entertaining Emperors and Kings, for annual hospitalities and various public affairs, was an apartment centering all the magnificence of the ecclesiastic court: paintings, mosaics, porphyry columns, and marble incrustations adorned it; in the midst gushed a fountain, and around were eleven tribunes or niches, in the principle of which stood the marble throne, with a prayer chiselled above it, for his Holiness. Here took place ceremonies of the court scarcely less symbolic than those of the temple; for the primitive usages of

the Papal Palace were far more characteristic than anything prescribed by modern etiquette in the Vatican routine. At Christmas and Easter the Pope and Cardinals assembled for the solemn banquets (*lectisternia*) noted for mystic observances, especially at the latter festival, when with his Holiness eleven Cardinals reclined on couches (in classic fashion), and the Prior, called « Basilicarius, » sat on a solitary stool at the same table. The Paschal Lamb was then served, blessed, and carved; first a slice of its flesh was put into the mouth of the Prior (destined to represent Judas converted) by the Pontiff's hand, with the words: *Quod facis fac citius: sicut ille accepit ad damnationem, tu accipe ad remissionem*; the remainder being divided between the Pope, Cardinals, and certain officials, whilst a lection from Scripture suitably accompanied, and the banquet was then enlivened by a sequence sung to the organ by the pontific cantors, who, on concluding, received each a « Byzantine » from a chaplain, and a cup of wine, first tasted by his own lips, from the Pope (Piazza, *Stazioni Romane*). The same *coena*, but without the serving-up of the lamb, was given the two following days of Easter-week. Its modern revival, in the grand supper, with musical « cantate », served to the Cardinals at S. Maria Maggiore on the Vigil of Christmas, and their meagre (but still costly) banquet in the Sala Regia on Holy Thursday, preserved nothing of that ritual in olden use; and both those entertainments, from motives of economy, are now discontinued. Till 1625 remained some vestiges of the sacred pictures on this Triclinium; that year certain restorations of the antique were effected, though the original palace had been swept away, this portion excepted, to make place for the heavy and long utterly useless buildings of Sixtus V; but in 1737 the isolated Triclinium was also condemned to be cleared away for other structures on its site, though it was desired by the Pope, Benedict XIV, to save at least the prin-

cipal tribune with its mosaics, by removing the whole mass along a wooden bridge to be projected to a distance of 168 feet; an ingenious plan, however, finally rejected by the Roman architects as offering no fair chances of success; and the Pope therefore ordered the mosaic at least to be preserved in a copy, for which he assigned 2000 scudi, but in vain, as the shock given already to the old walls caused the original to crumble away before the artist could finish his task. Fortunately, however, there remained in the Vatican a miniature, on a MS. code, preserving the design of that original; and this the Pope had copied, when, for reproducing the tribune and its decoration, was raised, in 1743, the structure which we now see, attached to the buildings that contain the *Scala Santa* and « Sanctum Sanctorum, » or ancient Papal chapel. Leo III had the intention to supply, in the groups represented on his Triclinium, both a memorial of Charlemagne's coronation, and of his triumphal return to Rome, after being obliged to fly from a faction of calumniators, together with that Emperor, who protected, vindicated, and restored him to his rights,— all events occurring in the same year. In the centre of this principal mosaic was represented the risen Saviour, giving the divine mandate to go forth for the converting of all nations to the Apostles standing around Him, among whom Peter is distinguished by the double Keys and a Greek Cross with double arms. Allusive to the persecution he had suffered and the triumph ensuing, Leo had inscribed round the outer curve of the arch the angelic hymn, *Gloria in excelsis* ec, this at the same time forming record of his meeting in France with Charlemagne, who had devoutly welcomed the fugitive Head of the Church in those very words. Beneath is the name of Leo, interwoven with that of the Redeemer, in one monogram. Right and left of the arch are two groups fraught with historic meanings: at the right, the Saviour enthroned, giving to one of two kneeling figures,

probably St. Peter (though supposed by some to be St. Sylvester) the two keys; and a standard, the sign of dominion, to another, whose identity is made clear by the name inscribed above, « R. Constantinus, » both figures having the nimbus round the head, that for the Emperor square, that for the Apostle, circular. In the other group appears St. Peter seated, in long robes and pallium, with *three* keys (1) on his lap, giving a pallium to Pope Leo, and a standard to Charlemagne, who kneel before him, each having the square nimbus and the name inscribed above the head, the prefix D. N. (*Dominus Noster*) to *both*, as if in like position of authority; and below this group is inscribed, *Beate Petre dona bitam* (sic) *Leoni P. P. et bictoriam* (sic) *Carolo Regi dona* — the very words raised in the popular acclamations at St. Peter's after that memorable coronation on Christmasday. It is in the ordinary Frankish dress, with trousers, that Charlemagne is depicted, not in coronation-robes, but such as he actually wore at the rite in the Basilica — perhaps from policy, to give the impression (scarcely correct) of unexpectedness in those honours that suddenly declared him Emperor of the West. In this remarkable mosaic, Hallam (« Middle Ages ») sees proof that the authority of the Greek Emperor was not entirely abrogated at Rome till long after the period of Papal aggrandisement by Pepin and his Son; but that historian seems warranted by no probabilities in concluding that Constantine V, whose reign begun A. D. 780, is intended in the Emperor kneeling with St. Peter (or Pope Sylvester.) Previously indeed to the rupture with the Iconoclast Emperor, under Gregory II, it is evident the Eastern Caesars held fully recognised sway here, as shown by one, to choose

(1) Alemanni interprets the third key as signifying the power of the Pope over the Empire: « Clavis Petro appingitur triplex, quippe qui suam illam potestatem converterit ad temperandum imperium.»

out of many documents — the brief of John VIII, about A. D. 706, to the Abbot of Farfa, dated by the year, not of his pontificate, but of the Byzantine Emperor, whom he distinctly styles, « our Lord » — (*imperante Domno nostro pissimo PP. Augusto Tiberio Anno VIII.*) The idea of a certain sovereignty over Rome, vested in the Frankish Emperor, seems implied in this mosaic, at least in the sense that may be admitted considering the clearer evidence of historic confirmation. Anastasius tells as that, when Lonis II, elect king of Italy, came to receive the crown at Rome in 844, on his followers demanding from the native patricians the oath of allegiance to him as their king, Pope Sergius III would by no means consent to this, though he *did* allow them to take such oath towards Louis's father, the Emperor Lothaire, still living. Vast historic researches led Muratori to the persuasion that Rome and her Duchy were never in any degree subject to the kings of Italy; and whatever the rights tacitly conceded to the higher potentate, the deference paid by Emperors themselves strikingly attested the reverence for the Holy See then imbuing the mind of Europe. Thus Louis the Pious could not believe his election ratified till he had received the crown from a Pope, that Stephen who undertook the weary journey to France expressly for the ceremonial he was invited to perform; and Lothaire II did not deem it beneath his dignity to receive in fief from a Pope (Innocent II, A.D. 1130), as vassal of the Holy See, the lands bequeathed by Matilda. The Emperor's holding the stirrup for the Pope to mount his white palfrey, after official interviews, had passed among the prescriptions of etiquette, which, at first haughtily refused, was finally complied with by Frederick I to Adrian IV — though the English Breakspeare was obliged to yield to the German Barbarossa, when required by irritated majesty to cancel another pictorial assertion of Papal claims, in this Lateran Palace, the picture, ordered by himself, re-

presenting Lothaire beside the cotemporary Pope, with words beneath implying the *subjection* of the Emperor as receiving his crown in vassalage from Rome (1). In fact, no King of Germany or Italy ever assumed the imperial title before being not only recognised, but crowned by the Pope, till at last Maximilian set aside precedents, and boldly opened a new era, in 1508, by styling himself *Romanus Imperator Electus*, without asking sanctions or travelling to petition for a crown (Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. t.* 1. *Diss.* 111). Remarkable among leading features in the annals of the Papal Metropolis is that continual struggle for municipal independance, which scarcely ever left to the Pontiffs freedom of sway in their own capital; the storm raged perpetually round the throne of the Tiara, alarming the High Priest so revered from a distance-whilst opposed and insulted at home; though popular claims were limited and tumults lulled awhile by Alexander III, who obtained, after his withdrawal to Tusculum, promises that henceforth the Magistrates called Consuls should never exercise office before engaging by oath to serve faithfully the church, and never undertake anything prejudicial to the Papal power — which being exacted as conditions, Alexander then returned to Rome; but a few years later the attempt of Lucius III to destroy that consular government absolutely, raised opposition driving that Pontiff into exile, and visiting with cruel vengeance his evil counsellors

(1) « They (the princes of the Empire, A. D. 1157) added that there had been placed in the Pontific Palace of Lateran a most scandalous picture in which was represented the Emperor Lothaire II in posture of a vassal at the feet of Pope Innocent II; and underneath this picture, to leave no doubt thereupon, had been inscribed two Latin verses signifying that this Emperor, in receiving the imperial crown from the Pope, became his *homme* and his vassal. »

Maimbourg, *Hist. de la Décadence.*

(Platina). Taking a general view of Papal History within the walls of Rome, one may be led to conclude that the undefined nature of this complex sovereignty, the confusion between the various claims, traditionary, testamentary, temporal and spiritual on which it rested from the first — above all, the light reflected from the Past, the magic of names and memories acting on the imagination of an excitable people — supplied that ever-fertile source of embarassments and irritations from which a simpler theory, more apostolic disregard than *some* Popes have shown for power might have relieved, and raised it above the petty concerns of a small Italian state, the intrigues of court and « poor puppetry of thrones, » into a sphere higher, purer, and more permanently tranquil (1).

(1) See the calm and impressive reasoning on the advantages of a purely spiritual, detached from all temporal power, in the Papacy, put forth (whilst the latter indeed was for the time an attribute withdrawn) by an estimable Cardinal, himself once first minister of this Government, who, after considering the question of profit and loss on both sides, arrives at conclusions that, « from this melancholy event (the deposition of Pius VII) the Lord might produce other and not slight advantages for His Church: the loss of the temporal dominion and the greater part of the ecclesiastical property might ultimately prove the means of removing, or at any rate weakening the degree of jealousy and bad feeling that universally exist against the Court of Rome and her Clergy —The Pope, relieved from the weighty charge of temporal principalities, that certainly obliges him to sacrifice too great a portion of his precious time to secular affairs, would be enabled to direct his entire thoughts and attention to the spiritual government of the Church, which, though thereby deprived of lustre, pomp, and dignity, and the attraction of her temporal benefits, on the other hand would have the advantage of numbering those exclusively who are zealous in the sacred cause among her ministers — those who, so long as they 'desire the office of a Bishop, desire a good work'. » — (*Me*

moirs of Cardinal Pacca)—« Il faut que toute complication, toute idée de guerre et de révolte soit à jamais bannie du territoire gouverné par le Pape, et que l'on puisse dire: Là où régne le Vicaire de Jésus-Christ, régnent aussi la concorde, le bien-être et la paix. » (*Le Pape et le Congrès*)

APPENDIX

The Archives of the Ecclesiastical Congregations mentioned above are collections unique of their kind, yet inaccessible for any save official persons or purposes. Those of the Congregations of Holy Office and Index contain 6500 codes and files of papers; that of Rites and Canonization possesses about 5000; that of Propaganda, about 4000; the two of Bishops and Regulars and of Immunities, about 19,000; that of Council, more than 3,600; while in the offices of the Penitentiary and Dateria are considerably upwards of 14,000 documents. In the general Archives of the Vatican are 35,000 files, with more than 120,000 documents, comprising all Papal Bulls from the time of Gregory VII, correspondences of Legates, Nuncios ec. with the Holy See, though this collection, as well as the Library, is reported to have suffered much loss at the pillage by the troops of Bourbon. (Cantù, *Documenti alla Storia Univ. t.* 1.)

In regard to the style and formalities of the Papacy, may be added the following particulars: « Bulls, » so called since the X century from the leaden seal, *bulla*, attached to them, are letters from the Poutiff on more important affairs, beginning with his own name and those of the parties addressed, and dated, since the middle of the same century, from the Incarnation (25th February), also, since the XII century, by the year of the pontificate. Bulls are expedited from the Apostolic Chancery under its own seal, signed by different officials attached to it; while « Briefs » emanate from the « Secretaryship of Briefs, » under the « Seal of the Fisherman, » signed by the Cardinal Secretary of that department. The latter open with the

name only of the Pope, the former with his ecclesiastical titles: thus a Brief would be superscribed *Pius PP. IX.* — a Bull, *Pius Episcopus servus servorum Dei.* « Semi-bulls » are those issued in the period between the electing and consecrating of a Pope; and the Bull becomes a « Constitution, » when addressed to all Prelates for condemning heretic propositions ec. Of this description was the famous « In Coena Domini, » whose publication in their states almost all Princes, and even some Prelates opposed: originally drawn up in the XIV, much added to in the XV century, afterwards applied to the condemnation of Protestants, it received the latest additions, from Urban VIII, in 1627 and in purport was directed generally to condemn and anathematize heretics, brigands, pirates, oppressors of the Church, persecutors of ecclesiastics, abettors of the Saracens against Christians, outragers of pilgrims, usurpers of territory belonging to the Holy See. With awful formalities this Bull was published every Holy Thursday from the loggia of St. Peter's, after which the Pontiff threw down a yellow wax torch into the piazza below, till that usage, prescribed by Pius V, was abolished by Clement XIV, in 1770. (Cantù, *ibid.* — Alzog)

« *Motu-proprii*, » first introduced by Innocent III, are without the seal, either leaden or wax, and now usually of political import. The formula, « under the Seal of the Fisherman, » was first used by Clement IV, 1265, in a Brief addressed to his nephew. In Bulls the customary formula, after the names, is « salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem, » or « in Domino salutem. » Bulls of the XII century, as those of Eugenius III, (1147) to the Prior of Huntingdon, and Alexander III, (1163) to the Prior of Horsham (given by Dugdale) begin: « Eugenius (Alexander) Catholicae Ecclesiae Episcopus. » Sometimes *Episcopus Urbis Romae* was the modest title alone used; that of *Servus servorum Dei*, adopted by St. Gregory, has been retained ever since. Only from the time of Gregory VII has the title « Papa, » formerly given to other Bishops, been exclusively applied to the Roman Pontiff, according to that Pope's requirement for restricting it. The election of a layman to the Papacy (of rare occurrence) was solemnly condemned, A. D. 769, by a Roman Council, which farther prescribed that the elect should have passed through various grades, and become either Cardinal Priest or Deacon. In Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.*, Diss. 61, we find a full account of the primitive Cardinalate, before

its concentration in the present powerful body of Papal Electors, whilst (as for many centuries) that rank was still shared by the chief clergy of most leading dioceses (that of London among others), not renounced till so recently, in that of Ravenna, as the year 1568, when the Canons first laid aside their hitherto permitted title of « Cardinal. » As to the wealth of the Popes, even in primitive times, the most curious testimony is from a Pagan historian, Ammianus Marcellinus, who, speaking of the year 367, describes them as seen abroad in chariots, becomingly vested, and sitting at banquets more sumptuous than those of kings. (*Id*, the Pontificate, *adepti, futuri sunt ita securi ut ditentur oblationibus matronarum, procedantque vehiculis insidentes, circumspecte vestiti, epulas curantes profusas, adeo ut eorum convivia regales superant mensas.*) From the XI century (chiefly under Gregory VII) this wealth was considerably increased by the voluntary subjection of several kingdoms or provinces, in obliging themselves to a yearly tribute, paid indeed by some states from earlier ages. Such was the oft disputed « Peter-pence, » in England, which Muratori refers to a date not higher than 890, though Baronius, Pagi, Polidoro Virgilio and others agree in placing its origin at about the year 740, through act of the Saxon King, Ina. A circular of William the Conqueror commands, under severe penalties, *ut denarii Sancti Petri solvantur a mei vassallis.*

The statement, at page 60, of a Pope having died within 24 hours after his election should be corrected, the writer from whom it is taken not being supported, and perhaps led into error by the real circumstances under which Adrian V died at Viterbo, in 1276, without being either consecrated or crowned, thirty eight days after he had been elected at Rome.

The estimates of the Roman Government for 1860, as just announced, are for revenue 14, 447, 950, for expenses 15, 055, 547 scudi; but the Legations being here contemplated as still belonging to the States, whilst those provinces are actually disunited, there remains to be made deduction of 1, 800, 000 for the revenues yielded by them; and thus a total deficit of 2, 500, 000 scudi, with 200, 000 scudi of interest for the public debt.

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ERRATA

Page	1	for " *sa* "	read *son*
	20	" presentation "	preservation
	26	" proferty "	property
	33	" Colossum "	Colosseum
	34	" Pontiff "	Pontiffs
	51	" Chergy "	Clergy
	60	" 25 years "	24 ec.
	82	" distination "	distinction
	84	" conduct is "	conduct in
	89	" is another "	there is ec.
	95	" *Quaritur*	*Quaeritur*
	97	" amnisty "	amnesty
	98	" abhorence "	abhorrence
	99	" garantee "	guarantee
		" *lotte* "	*lutte*
	138	" undutake	undertake
	139	" Domition "	Domitian
	140	" vestubule "	vestibule
	142	" for from "	far ec.
	157	" individud "	individual
	159	" beads "	beads
	160	" of the "	of
	163	" mited "	suited
	166	" Province "	Provence
	169	" *Patien* "	*Patiens*
	171	" 1392 "	1492
	175	" Frances "	Francis
	182	" risplendant "	resplendent
	196	" circle "	circles
	202	" tho "	to
	206	" Ford "	Lord
	216	" macking "	masking
	220	" fear "	bear
	223	" fell "	fall
	291	" ofter "	often
	303	" same "	some
	318	" exhedra "	exedra
	319	" 580 "	480
	321	" abbot "	the ec.
	329	" and of "	end ec.
	332	" rekoned "	reckoned